

# National Municipal Review

Vol. XXIX, No. 5

Total Number 287

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for May, 1940

NEWS IN REVIEW.....	284
WHO'S BOSS?.....	286
THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS..... <i>H. P. J.</i>	288
EDITORIAL COMMENT.....	289
WAYNE STAFFS DETROIT..... <i>Laurence Michelmores</i>	291
THE MIDDLE WAY—AMERICAN PLAN..... <i>Virgil Sheppard</i>	296
KALAMAZOO EXAMINES THE RECORD..... <i>Robert Cornell</i>	301
WANGLING REAPPORTIONMENT FOR MICHIGAN.. <i>Charles W. Skull</i>	305
MISSISSIPPI LEADS SOUTH IN RURAL HOUSING.. <i>M. H. Satterfield</i>	311
BUFFALO STANDARDIZES JOBS AND PAY..... <i>Sidney Detmers</i>	315
EMPLOYMENT STABILIZATION JEOPARDIZED BY CONFLICTING TAX LAWS..... <i>Emerson P. Schmidt</i>	319
THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST: MAY.....	321
EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY—IDEALS AND VALUES.. <i>P. P. Womer</i>	325
CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW.....	327
NEWS IN REVIEW (continued).....	328
Notes and Events, H. M. Olmsted, 284; County and Township Government, Elwyn A. Mauck, 332; Citizen Action, Elwood N. Thompson, 334; Taxation and Finance, Wade S. Smith, 339; Proportional Repre- sentation, George H. Hallett, Jr., 343.	
BOOKS IN REVIEW..... <i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	346

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the  
*Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *Inter-  
national Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

# News in Review

## City, County, State Progress in Brief

### Manager Cities Lead in Intercity Contests

*Stand high among cities with low tax rates and good tax collection records.*

*Merit system extended in New York; bill defeated in Virginia legislature.*

*Edited by*

**H. M. OLMSTED**

**C**ITIES operating under the council-manager plan of government won high places and made a notable showing in recent intercity contests in the fields of fire prevention, traffic safety, and health, as well as in regard to the perennial competition for relatively low tax rates and good tax collections.

In the Inter-Chamber Fire Waste Contest, sponsored by the National Fire Waste Council in coöperation with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Cincinnati, Ohio, administered by Manager C. O. Sherrill, won the grand prize in competition with some three hundred other cities. In the various population groups seventeen manager cities won honorable mention: Rochester, Schenectady, New Rochelle, and Newburgh, New York; Oakland, Long Beach, and Pasadena, California; Wichita, Kansas; Roanoke, Virginia; Portland and Camden, Maine; Asheville, Rocky Mount, and Salisbury, North Carolina; Albany, Georgia; Lubbock, Texas; and Bozeman, Montana.

Cities with council-manager governments won first places in three out of five population groups in the 1939 National Traffic Safety Contest conducted by the National Safety Council. Eleven cities in all with manager gov-

ernments in 1939 received awards; this was 29 per cent of all thirty-eight winning cities, whereas manager cities comprise slightly less than 20 per cent of all cities of 10,000 population or over. Here is the manager city record: The grand prize for all groups, and first place in the group of 250,000 to 500,000 population was won by Kansas City, Missouri. In the group of 50,000-100,000 population Pontiac, Michigan, was first, with Beaumont, Texas, second, and Jackson, Michigan, receiving honorable mention. In the 25,000-50,000 group the winner was Clarksburg, West Virginia, with Dubuque, Iowa, second. In the 100,000-250,000 group Oklahoma City and Dayton, Ohio, received honorable mention. In the smallest group (10,000-25,000) Wilmette, Illinois, won third place, while Ames, Iowa, and Ironwood, Michigan, received honorable mention. Thus manager cities showed up substantially better than other cities, on the average, and strikingly better as to rankings, winning seven out of fourteen places (including the grand prize) other than honorable mention.

In the recent city health conservation contest, conducted annually by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Public Health Association, awards of merit went to the following manager cities: In the 250,000-500,000 population group, Dallas, Texas, and Toledo, Ohio; 100,000-250,000, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Yonkers, New York; 50,000-100,000, Schenectady, New York, Pasadena and Sacramento, California; 20,000-50,000, Hackensack, New Jersey; under 20,000, Asbury Park, New Jersey.

The International City Managers' Association, referring to the 287 cities with population over 30,000, the assessed valuations and tax rates of which were



published in the December issue of the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, points out that although slightly less than 25 per cent have council-manager government, 50 per cent of the thirty cities with the lowest tax rates are council-manager cities.

Of the twenty-four cities of over 50,000 population having the lowest tax delinquency records for 1939,<sup>1</sup> ten, or 42 per cent, are under manager government; whereas only 24 per cent of the 190 cities in that population group have the manager plan.

---

### ***Council-Manager Plan News***

The Board of Aldermen of CHICOPPEE, MASSACHUSETTS, at a meeting held April 17, ordered that the petition for a city-wide referendum on Plan E—the manager plan with proportional representation—be sent to the Secretary of State so that the question may be placed on the November ballot.

In JOHNSTOWN, NEW YORK, the manager plan was discussed at a meeting of representatives of various groups in the city on April 16, with about 250 persons present. The chief speaker was George H. Hallett, Jr., associate secretary of the National Municipal League, who outlined the plan and the advantages of the manager form with proportional representation, and conducted a model P.R. election. He was introduced by L. K. Maylender, Jr., who referred to a study of types of city government conducted by the Johnstown Business Men's Association, which reached the conclusion that the manager plan would be best for that city.

A campaign for city manager and proportional representation in WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK, got under way early in April with the formation of the City Government League.

Petitions are being circulated in TRAVERSE CITY, MICHIGAN, to

resubmit the manager question in the November election.

MANKATO, MINNESOTA, on April 8 defeated a proposed city manager charter by a vote of 1,823 to 1,565. The vote was less than half of total registrations. The charter commission will continue in office for three more years and it is expected that a manager charter will be submitted again. HOT SPRINGS, SOUTH DAKOTA, and ARCADIA and HERMOSA BEACH, CALIFORNIA, also defeated manager plan proposals, voting on April 16, April 9, and April 2 respectively.

SILVERTON, OREGON, will vote May 17 on adoption of council-manager government.

IRELAND is reported to have recently extended the county manager plan by providing for the appointment of twenty-one county managers. The functions of fifty-three urban councils, twenty-two towns, and twelve counties are to be placed under county councils and county managers with powers similar to those exercised by the city managers in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford.

A bill authorizing cities to establish the manager plan, introduced by Representative Cook of Bremerton into the WASHINGTON legislature, failed to come out of committee during the recent legislative session.

---

### ***Superior, Wisconsin, Begins Manager Regime in April 1941***

Council-manager government, which was adopted on April 2 by the voters of Superior, Wisconsin, (36,000 population) will supplant the mayor-council form on April 2, 1941. The present ten-man council, elected by wards and receiving annual salaries of \$500 per member, will be succeeded by a seven-man council elected at large and serving without pay.

The original study of city manager government was begun two years ago

(Continued on Page 328)

---

<sup>1</sup>See also "Best Tax Collections Reviewed," page 340 of this issue.

# WHO'S

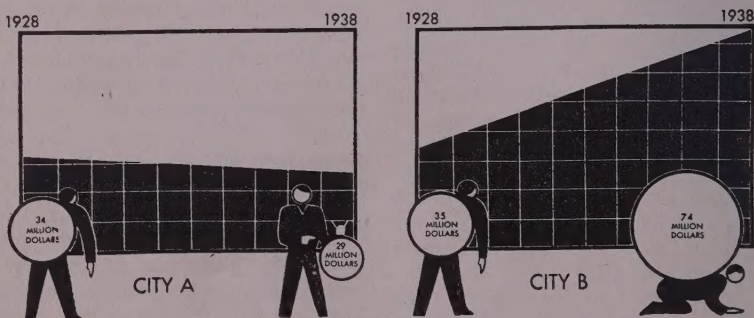
*Here are four of the twenty illustrations from a pamphlet<sup>1</sup> of*

## POLITICAL CONTROL WASTES CITIZEN'S MONEY



The book describes the different forms of city government,

## DEBT OFTEN RESPONSIBLE FOR HEAVY TAX BURDEN



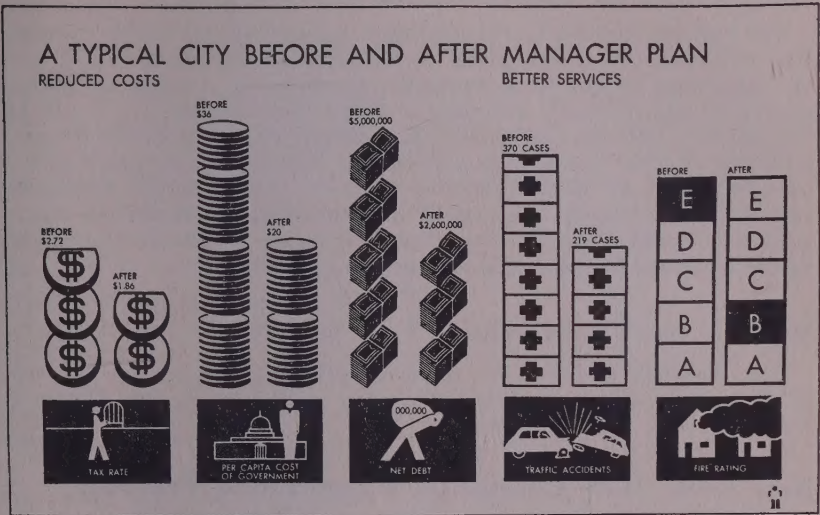
**Explains the reasons for differences among cities in cost of government and quality of services,**

<sup>1</sup>Published May 10 by the National Municipal League; Charts by Pictorial Statistics, Inc. (See also back cover.)



# BOSS?

*pictorial statistics (with a sprinkling of text) titled WHO'S BOSS?*



Illustrates the effect of good government,



And shows how to keep good government.

# The League's Business

---

## Conference on American Self-Government

Two hundred universities and more than a score of national citizens organizations which have answered the call of the National Municipal League to participate in a coöperative program for increasing the effectiveness of American self-government were represented at a conference at Indiana University on May 13 and 14. The conferees, including college presidents, professors, and citizen leaders, discussed informally plans for implementing democracy in their localities by means of projects which may be jointly undertaken by citizen groups and the universities. President C. A. Dykstra, chairman of the conference, and S. Howard Evans, director, presented to the conference about forty sample projects which were submitted in advance by coöperating organizations and individuals.

---

## What Is the League Doing?

More adequately to answer that question, the League is sending out this week to all its members an informal eight-page report on its activities since January 1, 1940. Comments will be welcome.

---

## New York State Committee's Legislative Program Makes Progress

Three bills which give effect to items on the legislative program of the New York State Committee of the League passed both houses of the legislature this year and two of them became law.

One of the two bills which the Governor signed is a village home rule law which carries out the mandate of the new state constitution by granting villages of more than 5,000 population home rule powers generally similar to those now enjoyed by cities. The second bill to become law is the so-called "Little Hatch Act" which introduces for the state and its political subdivisions restrictions on the political use of relief and relief lists similar to those of the federal law. The third bill, which passed both houses but which the Governor vetoed, would have dispensed with primaries when they were uncontested.

---

## League's Publications Editor Awarded Fellowship

Miss Miriam Roher, who has been publications editor of the National Municipal League and a member of the REVIEW's staff for the past two years, has been awarded the Public Service Fellowship given annually by Barnard College for graduate study. The fellowship was established in 1934 by a fund given by the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, founded by Mrs. Dwight H. Davis, after repeal of the 18th amendment. Miss Roher was graduated from Barnard College in 1936 and received her master's degree from Northwestern the following year. She expects to study municipal and American government, working toward a Ph.D. Her dissertation will be on public relations of municipal government.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*



# National Municipal Review

## Editorial Comment

### A Date in History

MAY 19, 1940, could be a date for historians to immortalize. And again it could pass into history's waste paper basket.

Much depends upon the vision and mature judgment of the leaders in dozens of communities which will celebrate on that date the first generally recognized citizenship day in the United States.

Congress and the President have formally designated May 19 as citizenship day. Communities throughout the country are planning to initiate young men and women, just turned twenty-one, into the responsibilities of citizenship.

Sincere patriotic oratory will fill the air—along with some that is not so sincere, or just misguided. There will be ready-made references to country, flag, and founding fathers, all of which is to the good.

But we hope there will be something more.

And there will be something more if those participating in the celebrations catch the vision unfolded in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, where citizenship day first became an institution in 1939.<sup>1</sup>

In Manitowoc, to be sure, there was a great day of parades, bands, marching, speaking. Enthusiastic crowds gathered to initiate new voters into the society of voting citizens.

<sup>1</sup>See also "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1939.

But the day was not merely a celebration. It was an all-day graduation exercise for seven hundred twenty-one-year-olds who saw a dramatization of the frequently forgotten fact that the right to vote is a tremendous privilege and responsibility.

As Chief Justice Marvin B. Rosenberry of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin put it, "The young citizen should be impressed with the fact that his decisions are of importance; that they do affect the future of the state and nation, although he may not at the moment be able to perceive that fact."

To carve that impression on the consciousness of new voters, several months were spent on a thorough educational program. Between three and four hundred men and women—doctors, lawyers, school teachers, farmers, business leaders—volunteered for the discussion leader staff. Eighty were chosen.

An educator gathered material and prepared charts and explanations of town, village, city, and county government units. The twenty-one-year-olds met voluntarily in small groups to learn about their government and how they could become part of it. Round table discussions covered the place of local government in American democracy, the role of citizens in state and national affairs, relation of state and nation to local affairs,

relation of government to everyday life, standards of public service, public service as a career, the great political parties—to outline only a part of the curriculum.

A new understanding of democratic organization sprang up in this group of new voters. They organized on a permanent basis—with a sense of leadership in their own right. And they assumed responsibility for helping to initiate next year's neophytes.

To this spirit of responsibility and leadership President Dykstra addressed a part of his celebration day address when he said:

"We must defend to the uttermost our ancient freedom—free speech and assembly and the right to wor-

ship as we will. We must defend life and liberty and what Jefferson called 'the pursuit of happiness'. In modern terms this last phrase means the right to make a living through access to opportunity, to work and care for a family. This is a difficult thing to do in the modern world, but it is incumbent upon *us* to work at it—to bring it to pass . . ." (*Italics ours.*)

With those words he passed on to this group of citizens their share of responsibility for leadership that will help solve democracy's problems.

In that spirit citizenship day renews, with each graduating class of new voters, democracy's threatened lease on life.

E. N. T.

## Home Rule vs. State Aid

**N**EARLY thirteen years ago Indianapolis voted to adopt the council-manager form of government by a majority of more than five to one—the most overwhelming vote in favor of the manager plan ever cast in any city. Subsequently, on a technicality, the Supreme Court of Indiana declared the enabling act under which the vote was taken unconstitutional.

Voters of Indianapolis were knocked down but not out. It has taken time, however, for them to reform their lines, to come to conclusions regarding the method of attack, and to build state-wide sentiment in behalf of the plan. Last spring the Indiana legislature, yielding to the pressure of public opinion, authorized the creation of a commission to study the problem and draft legislation

which will permit Indiana cities to adopt the manager plan. This commission is a good one: on it are P. S. Sikes, Indiana University; Clarence W. Efroymson, Butler University; J. W. Esterline and Eli Lilly of Indianapolis; Representative Roy Harrison, Attica; Senator Alfred Randall, Fort Wayne; and Virgil Sheppard, assistant administrator of the Indiana Welfare Department.

The commission has been holding conferences and hearings with a view to determining a specific course of action to pursue. Some of the questions it has considered are: (1) whether to take a chance on another enabling act; (2) whether to seek a constitutional amendment providing for municipal home rule (this procedure would postpone any possible

(Continued on Page 326)



# Wayne Staffs Detroit

*Public service training program of Wayne University a community undertaking; Bureau of Governmental Research, Civil Service Commission, heads of city departments, help plan courses offered in pre-entry and in-service fields.*

By LAURENCE MICHELMORE  
*Wayne University*

IN MANY respects the Wayne University public service training program is not a "Wayne" project but a community undertaking. So many individuals and agencies participate that it would be inaccurate to think of the program solely, or even principally, as a university activity. Some phases of the program are largely conducted by the university, but some are of such a coöperative nature that the university's function is principally that of unifying and integrating the efforts of others.

The coöperative relationships which have been developed are so numerous that they may be considered as a principal characteristic of the Wayne program. Much of the non-credit, in-service training of public employees is conducted in conjunction with the State Board of Control for Vocational Education. The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research aids the program in many ways. The library of the bureau is available for student use. The bureau's contacts with local government departments greatly facilitate negotiations regarding training in those agencies. Of most importance, however, the bureau's twenty-four years' study of local government problems and agencies, and its equally long experience with the training of junior

staff members in public administration, helps to guide the program in a way that would not otherwise be possible.

Needless to say, no in-service training program could be developed without the coöperation of the Civil Service Commission, other government departments, and public employees. The willingness of other educational institutions to permit members of their staffs to instruct certain courses has also been essential to training in some fields.

A second characteristic of the Wayne program in both the pre-entry and in-service fields, is emphasis primarily on training for local government service, and particularly for service with the governmental units of the Detroit metropolitan area. Training for the national and state service is not completely ignored. For example, two of last year's graduates entered the federal service as junior professional assistants. Others have been placed with various state agencies in Michigan and elsewhere. In-service training activities have also been developed to meet the needs of some state and federal employees in the Detroit area. Nevertheless, attention is primarily focused at the local level in both pre-entry and post-entry activities.

Another characteristic of the Wayne program is its flexibility. To as great an extent as seems possible, rigid rules are avoided in the various in-service training projects and experimentation is encouraged. Course length varies considerably, and examinations are given in some courses, not in others. Considerable flexibility is also preserved in the selection of courses in both undergraduate and graduate programs.

Variety of approach to the training problem is likewise emphasized. Both pre-entry and post-entry training projects are embraced. Some of the work is on an undergraduate level, some is on a graduate level, and some is on a "non-college" basis.<sup>1</sup> In some cases the university takes the initiative in "offering" courses, whereas in other instances its role is limited to advising on the planning and conduct of training projects by governmental agencies.

Principal elements in the Wayne training program at present are:

(1) Undergraduate offerings in government, sociology, economics, accounting, business administration, and engineering—some of the offerings designed to be "pre-professional" training.

(2) Graduate curricula in social case work and social group work.

(3) A graduate program in public administration.

(4) Special conferences and institutes on the social and governmental problems of the metropolitan area.

(5) A group of non-credit

courses for in-service employees exclusively, offered in the late afternoon and evening.

(6) In cooperation with operating departments, the planning and offering of departmental programs for the training of new entrants, and the further training of older employees.

1. For undergraduate students, courses in government, other social studies, engineering, accounting, and business administration provide a background for some of the public services and pre-professional preparation for specialized graduate work. During the last few years, about one-third of the college-trained people entering the Detroit city service by competitive examinations have been Wayne students.

#### INTERNSHIP POSSIBILITIES

It is believed that a system of internships for some of these students would be valuable as a transitional step toward permanent public employment. The possibility of establishing formal arrangements for such internships is now being explored. Until a regular system can be established, special arrangements are made for individual students to use departmental records and files, or to make special studies or conduct other projects in conjunction with various governmental agencies.

2. Although the graduate programs in social work and group work are not designed exclusively for public employment, many of the students and graduates are so employed. Of 142 graduate students in these fields, seventy-one are at present employed

---

<sup>1</sup>"Non-college" work may actually be above or below the usual college level.



by federal, state, or local agencies in the Detroit area and taking university courses in connection with their regular occupations. These curricula include twenty-eight hours of course work, a thesis, and 1,080 clock hours of supervised field training.

3. A graduate program, leading to the degree of Master of Public Administration, seeks to provide an opportunity for advanced study of administrative techniques, as well as an orientation of administrative processes to social, economic, and political life, particularly as found in the larger urban communities.

In addition to twenty-four hours of course work, a thesis and 420 clock hours of field work in a governmental or research agency are required for this degree. At present, twenty-five graduate students are enrolled in this program. The majority are employed in government offices, or in social or citizen agencies, and are studying on a part-time basis.

Theses, usually but not always dealing with the problems of the area, are required of all students taking graduate degrees in government, sociology, public administration, and social work. Through arrangements with the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, an avenue for publication is offered for all theses of merit that have a local application.

4. Another type of training project is provided in conferences and institutes. Last spring five two-hour meetings of city department and bureau heads were devoted to the informal discussion of public relations problems. More recently an all-day conference on governmental account-

ing was attended by two hundred financial officers, other public employees, and students. Juvenile delinquency statistics served as the basis of a recent all-day conference in which many officials from public as well as private agencies participated. The university coöperates with many other agencies in sponsoring other institutes and meetings which contribute to public service training more or less directly.

#### UNIQUE IN-SERVICE PROGRAM

5. The exclusively in-service activities are perhaps more unique than the degree programs. Financed largely from state and federal funds for vocational education, these projects are solely for persons already in the public service, and do not give university credit of any kind. Federal funds for this purpose were made available by the George-Deen act of 1936 which extended aid for vocational training in trade and industrial pursuits to include "public and other service occupations."

Projects which have been developed are of two principal types. A group of courses has been offered in the late afternoon and evening, with nominal fees charged to each person registering. In addition, projects have been undertaken with several Detroit city departments for special groups of their employees. In the latter case only employees of the department may enroll, and no fees are charged to the individuals. In most cases this training is on the department's time and attendance at the training sessions is compulsory.

In the late afternoon and evening program, thirty-seven different courses

have been offered since September 1937, when this work was undertaken. Since several of these courses have been offered more than once the total number of classes has been fifty-six; the total enrollment, 1,600.

The "curriculum" has included courses in such staff or auxiliary functions as financial administration and personnel administration and in many line activities. Courses in the public works field have embraced street sanitation, sewage treatment, street construction, public works construction, refuse disposal, inspection of public works, and water purification. Seven courses dealing with public parks have ranged from park planning to plant pathology and entomology. Other fields touched by this program have been police, welfare, street railway transportation, building inspection, public employment offices, stenographic work, municipal law, and assessing.

Arrangements for these courses have varied so widely that it is difficult to generalize concerning them. In length, courses have been as short as eight hours and as long as forty hours. Most of the classes meet for a two-hour session one evening a week, but some meet earlier in the day or at more or less frequent intervals. The majority of the classes meet in university class rooms, but where it seems more convenient other meeting places have been arranged. Fees are as low as one dollar and as high as five dollars. Examinations are given in some cases but not in all. Instructors are usually department heads and other public officials, but regular Wayne faculty members and staff members from other universi-

ties have been in charge of a number of classes.

#### CITY DEPARTMENTS PLAN COURSES

6. Recently somewhat different arrangements have been made for training projects for groups of employees in the Detroit departments of public welfare, street railways, water supply, and police. No fees are charged the employees, the department paying that portion of the cost which is not reimbursable from vocational education funds. Except in the case of the street railway employees, this training is on department time, and employees are required to participate. Together, these programs will probably reach two thousand employees during the current year.

For welfare employees three projects are being given at present. About fifty hours of instruction in the psychiatric aspects of social work is being offered to each of nine groups of social workers and supervisors. In addition twelve hours are being devoted by the supervisors to the consideration of case work processes. Supervision, with emphasis on the supervision of recording, is the subject of another six-hour study by the same group.

Motor coach operators employed by the municipal street railway are being trained in coach mechanics, coach operation, departmental rules and regulations, schedules, fares, transfers, reports, claims, courtesy, and safety.

Since the department is rapidly replacing street cars with motor coaches, a large number of new employees or former street car operators must be trained. For these employees a



compulsory ten-day training program is offered. For older employees, refresher training is given on a voluntary basis.

In the water department a customer relations training program has been established. Those employees having constant contacts with the public over the counter or by telephone are offered intensive training in departmental rules and regulations, organization, and operations; the techniques of planning for and conducting the more frequent recurring transactions, such as requests for new service, complaints about high bills, etc.; and appropriate attitudes and methods for conducting the less frequent transactions. Similar but less intensive training is also to be given for other departmental employees who have occasional contacts with the public.

An extensive retraining program for police officers was inaugurated last year but has been temporarily interrupted by departmental reorganization. Before this interruption full-time instruction for four weeks was offered to groups of twenty-five officers at a time, in criminal law, evidence, city ordinances, liquor law, the police manual, and personnel problems. It is hoped that a similar schedule can be resumed shortly.

In view of the fact that no academic credit is given for these in-service projects, their inclusion in a university program may be questioned. Indeed, it may be argued that in-service training does not belong in the educational system, but should be administered by the personnel agency. Strong arguments may be advanced for the latter course, especially if the personnel agency is

equipped to administer a broad personnel program. On the other hand, the teaching techniques which should be at the command of the educator provide justification for placing some responsibility for public service training in the educational system.

If public service training is undertaken by educational authorities, why not entrust it to the agency engaged in other adult education efforts? A partial answer at least would seem to be that the university staff probably has a more intimate knowledge of governmental functions and their administration than the staff responsible for other adult training.

For a municipal university, the distinction between credit and non-credit work does not seem to be particularly important, provided the latter work is not rewarded with an academic degree. Until there is more complete agreement about what should be included in university curricula, it is appropriate for a university to offer whatever training opportunities seem likely to contribute to the making of a livelihood and the making of a life, both before the individual goes to work and after he is employed.

In the development of the Wayne program, an attempt has been made to avoid the necessity for fine distinctions between credit and non-credit work, and between the responsibilities of each agency and individual concerned. Attention has been concentrated on arranging training opportunities wherever there appears to be a need. If these distinctions must be made later, the experience which is now being gathered may make it easier to solve them than it would be if they were attempted in advance.

# The Middle Way—American Plan

*One of the new and outstanding movements in government today is the attempt to maintain local government autonomy at the same time that local control of finance is being surrendered to the state.*

---

By VIRGIL SHEPPARD

*Indiana Department of Public Welfare*

---

IN MANY of the states of the union there has developed in recent years a system of government which has been called by some the "middle way," because it is halfway between centralization on one hand and decentralization on the other.

Not many years ago the three levels of government in this country were fairly well defined and limited. The federal government had its old-time constitutionally-restricted sphere of functions. At the state level, the back-home folk, suspicious of central authority, kept governmental responsibilities at a minimum. Government, circumscribed by environment and traditional patterns, remained largely with the local unit. The property tax was the primary source of local and state revenues.

Then came new governmental functions, ever widening as the newer and speedier methods of communication brought the courthouse a few man-hours away and a trip to the state capitol became at the most a half-day's journey. Social and governmental patterns rapidly outgrew the local boundaries by which they had been contained. New forms of taxation, state or nation-wide in incidence and administration, were demanded, and secured, in the constant effort to broaden the tax base

to satisfy the ever increasing demand for public funds.

Theoretically, every citizen became a direct financial supporter of the government, a tax-conscious individual. The folk back home were willing enough to make the state and the country the collector of new taxes, but they jealously guarded their local autonomy in the spending of these new taxes. One of the new and outstanding movements in government in the twentieth century has been this attempt to maintain local autonomy over spending of the taxpayer's dollars in the local units at the same time that local control over tax-levying and collecting was being surrendered. The central government collects, the local unit spends. That characterizes the trend in government today. It is an aspect of what is here termed the "middle way."

In some states centralization has admittedly taken place, the state government having assumed a major role in the arena of governmental activity. Whereas in those states a few years ago the state capitols were scenes of leisurely administration of long-time functions of government, their former complacency has been abandoned and they have become centers of an active and ever-broadening panorama of new and old functions of government. Many



of the services of government once administered locally are now in whole or in part a responsibility of state government. New services, many of which were not anticipated a few years ago, have been assumed by the state government. Unemployment compensation is one of these manifestations.

In a country as large as ours too much centralization may in the end defeat democracy. By and large, it seems to me that those of us who are interested in the preservation of democracy should attempt to stem the tide of state control and dictation to local units, and further usurpation of local functions. However, sentiment alone does not preserve democracy. We have recently had startling, concrete evidence of this fact. The final supremacy of centralization over home rule or home rule over centralization will be founded upon the basis of the demonstrable capacity or incapacity of each public jurisdiction to do well the task assigned to it; to think in terms of the remote local units in the case of centralization; and the performance of that part of the total program for which they are relatively best fitted.

Democratic local government in modern America does not mean merely the performance of the important functions of local government by locally elected officials. It has exceeded these bounds. With this expansion of the sphere of power over local affairs there should also have come a corollary, an effective accountability toward taxpayers by the officials of the more remote units wielding the power. The history of

local government in America proves beyond reasonable doubt that absolute decentralization is not effective.

The "middle way" calls for a continuation of local administration, supplemented with state controls sufficiently effective to prevent local abuse, but without dictation in the internal affairs of communities. Beginning with the turn of the century, state controls in the field of local government appear. First, statutory restrictions were placed on accounting, budgeting, purchasing, borrowing. Later, these controls were amplified to include post-auditing, and in some cases current auditing and the supervision of financial transactions by state supervising and inspecting agencies.

#### HOW EFFECTIVE STATE CONTROLS?

These controls, as all students of public finance know, have not always been effective. One could almost say that they did not produce the results for which they were originally intended. Some of the blame, or perhaps most of it, rests largely upon the state units administering the controls. First, many state supervising agencies have not prescribed sound procedures for local units to follow in establishing expenditure and other fiscal controls. In many cases where good procedures were originally prescribed, they have not been changed to meet new conditions, maintaining inflexible and obsolete regulations which have impeded local action. Second, some states have not adequately staffed the supervising agencies so as to interpret properly and enforce local fiscal controls. Third, where

there have been adequate staffs, the state has evaded its enforcement responsibility because of partisan politics, local resistance, and other reasons. Consequently, the mere existence of adequate statutory provisions for the formulation and prosecution of local budgets, for the keeping of accounts, for borrowings and related processes, and the establishment of state supervisory agencies to enforce statutory provisions, has been insufficient and has not always been successful.

This leads to a consideration of an aspect of the "middle way" of government which has come about largely through the conditional grants-in-aid to local government. Through conditional grants-in-aid, the remote state government found a new method of control over local units: establishment of minimum standards which govern not only the services for which the grant is given, but the basic, local financial processes surrounding the services as well. A conditional grant-in-aid for old-age assistance, for example, not only gives to the state government an opportunity to establish minimum standards of assistance to the needy aged, but also permits the regulation and enforcement locally of already existing financial controls together with establishment and enforcement of many new controls where these appear to the state government to be desirable and needed.

Through the conditional grant-in-aid, functions of government once traditionally administered locally are now subject to state and federal supervision and state established minimum standards. While decentraliza-

tion for these functions continues in the operation of administrative detail and a species of synthetic home rule still exists, it is an exceedingly limited kind of home rule. For instance, the basic philosophy of the conditional grant-in-aid is that the entire state has a specific responsibility to see that money collected from a state-wide tax to be used for local governmental purposes, is spent efficiently. The capacity or incapacity of the state supervising agency in effectively administering its supervisory functions will determine the ultimate extent to which this new "middle way" process will be successful.

#### INCREASE IN STATE AID

Now, let us see if the momentum of the conditional grant-in-aid movement is of sufficient significance to recognize it in the field of expenditure control. A study just released by Editorial Research Reports indicates that state grants to local units rose from \$773,000,000 in 1935 to \$973,000,000 in 1938, an increase of 21 per cent in these years. In Indiana, while no figures are available showing the breakdown as between grants-in-aid and the distribution to local units of state-collected, locally-shared taxes, the total from both sources indicates definitely the trend. In 1928 there was distributed to local units of government \$8,500,000. Ten years later this had increased to \$42,500,000, an increase of 400 per cent. State aid for school operation increased 260 per cent, and for roads and streets 276 per cent, in this ten-year period. The grant-in-aid for old-age and dependent chil-



dren assistance is new, but now totals from \$14,000,000 to \$15,000,000 annually from state and federal funds.

Not all of this aid to local units has constituted conditional grants-in-aid in the sense which we have been considering—where there is supervision by the state in the expenditure of the grants, especially through the establishment of minimum standards. The grant to poor school districts is conditional on the recognition and acceptance by the local school unit of state statutory and administrative regulatory standards. However, the grants to counties for aged and dependent children assistance are definitely conditional grants, expended under direct supervision of the state and under the terms of the national social security act.

There are those who believe that state aid for other purposes, particularly for local roads and streets, should be definitely made conditional, as is the case in some states. The drive for centralization is a persistent force. Doubtless in many cities in Indiana the destruction of city streets in the past few months, caused by one of the most severe winters in modern times, will lead many local taxpayers to call for more careful expenditure of street funds, which may easily lead in turn to the promulgation of conditions for control by the state, in the future plan of state financial aid to local units for roads and streets. Or the larger step, undesirable as it may be in most states, of complete centralization of highway and street functions may ensue.

Assuming that the conditional

grant-in-aid is here to stay and that it will gain further ground, and assuming further that there will be minimum standards of administrative performance established generally, what significance does the movement have in the field of expenditure control? I can best make the prediction based upon our Indiana experience in the field of old-age and dependent children assistance, which, along with other welfare functions except direct poor relief, are administered by ninety-two county departments of public welfare although under state supervision.

We have had in Indiana state laws governing local budgeting, accounting, borrowing, and related fiscal problems, and certain state agencies which have supervised, inspected, and audited local financial processes and made final determination of local tax levies. Doubtless the members of the State Board of Accounts over the past several years will readily admit there was little more than minimum observance of budgetary laws, a failure to keep apace on sound accounting procedures, and an auditing system which at its best was too slow. Let it be said here that the examiners for the State Board of Accounts are bipartisan, always working in pairs, one Republican and one Democrat, so that partisan politics cannot be said to have had significant influence.

#### CHECKS ON WELFARE EXPENDITURES

Four years ago, with the establishment of new county departments of public welfare, the State Department of Public Welfare had to assure the federal government that county

financial procedures involving the expenditure of county welfare funds were reasonably adequate to protect the public and insure the appropriation of funds for old-age and dependent children assistance. First of all, it became necessary to establish a check upon the county procedure as it touched county welfare funds. A simple but effective set of records maintained in the welfare department offices acted as a check upon the records of county auditor and treasurer. The fact that it was necessary to establish what in a sense is a duplicate set of records may appear to some to be wasteful, but it has resulted today in a strict accounting of expenditures.

#### STATE CHECKS MONTHLY

Second, what might be termed a continuous state review of county welfare functions was established through a monthly check by the State Welfare Department of all expenditures through a monthly summary statement of expenditures sent to the state office, which is self-balancing and can be checked from various angles at the state level to determine accuracy.

Third, a monthly allotment system was instituted. County directors of public welfare have forecast their expenditures on a month-to-month basis throughout the twelve-month period. This allotment is reviewed by the State Department of Public Welfare and the monthly expenditure is compared with it. This control has meant that in Indiana it has not been necessary in any of the ninety-two county departments to reduce the December check to an aged person or to a dependent child because the local unit failed to make

a forecast of expenditures.

Fourth, a budgetary system based upon accurate supporting data was put into effect. A detailed work sheet was provided that permitted proper comparisons between past experience and a good statistical forecast. No other agency of local government presents to the local tax reviewing board as much supporting data as does the county welfare department. These controls have reduced to a minimum the number of requests for supplemental appropriations, and have helped to produce conditions which have financed public welfare expenditures without resort to borrowings. They have resulted also in accounting practices so sound that the State Board of Accounts has not found in almost four years of examinations one penny of exception in any of the ninety-two local agencies.

The establishment of minimum standards of local administrative performance through the conditional grant-in-aid or through other means *does* offer an opportunity to improve upon expenditure control practices. There is an obligation on the part of any state agency which is supervising a conditional grant to enforce sound methods and techniques of expenditure control as a part of the minimum standards of performance. Unquestionably, local fiscal practices can be vastly improved through a proper functioning of this new "middle way" of government.

---

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered at Dallas, Texas, March 22, 1940, before the Regional Conference on Citizenship and Government, sponsored by the National Municipal League and the Dallas Citizens' Council.

# Kalamazoo Examines the Record

*Integrity and ability of men in positions of public trust,  
guided by adequate manager charter and ably supported  
by civic-minded voters, responsible for success story.*

By ROBERT CORNELL  
*Kalamazoo College*

KALAMAZOO, Michigan, is entering its twenty-third year of city manager government. In the years since 1918, when its manager charter was adopted, the city has witnessed many and varied changes in its administration. It has passed through a period of great prosperity and one of deep depression. Today, without a dollar of debt in its general fund, with city officials continuing a "pay-as-you-go" policy, and with city services increasing at a rapid pace, the city may well boast of the continued prosperity that efficient, business-like administration inaugurated over twenty years ago.

What are the factors that stand out in an evaluation of so many years of manager government as one looks to the past and anticipates the future?<sup>1</sup>

A study of the records of the past plus observation during more recent

years strongly emphasizes the fact that the human element stands out in Kalamazoo's story of success.

The city of Kalamazoo has always been fortunate in the type of men who have served in positions of public trust, whether as members of the directorate charged with the determination of policies, or as members of the staff charged with administration of those policies, or as public employees who accept personal responsibility for their assigned tasks. This sort of history speaks more clearly and more eloquently than words.

Credit must be given, too, to the voters of the city in the selection of policy-determining officers. This civic-minded group have at times accepted heavy burdens by reason of their informed confidence in the plan of government. They have disregarded every consideration other than their trust in the candidate's ability to function on the board of directors of the city. The candidate's interest in his city's government is the primary qualification.

A review of the men who have served as mayors and commissioners during the past twenty-one years indicates that these men have represented many and varied types of interest. Included among them were:

11 business executives

1 editor  
1 college professor

<sup>1</sup>For much of the material in this article, the writer is indebted to a booklet published by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Kalamazoo in June 1939, *Your City and Its Government: A Twenty-Year Story of City Manager Government*. This book was prepared by a group of graduate students at Kalamazoo College working in the field of public administration. The students spent considerable time investigating records of former years; they were able also to secure an inside view of Kalamazoo's present governmental machinery through actual participation on the staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research.



9 manufacturers	1 factory foreman
3 lawyers	1 railroad foreman
2 doctors	1 real estate broker
2 advertising man-agers	1 garage proprietor
2 jewelers	1 sales manager
2 store proprietors	1 college business manager
2 bankers	

The commissioner who receives the highest number of votes at each election is designated as mayor of the city. Among the mayors have been:

5 manufacturers	1 factory foreman
2 business executives	1 banker
1 college professor	1 real estate broker

This list represents men of vision who have enjoyed the confidence of the people to such an extent that it has been possible for them to translate their foresight into policies and to carry out those policies in spite of heavy immediate costs at times. Wisdom comes from the contribution of the members of the group who bring to their task the varying points of view which have been developed as a result of interests, training, and experience. Progress results when men of vision, who see a plan in terms of a long-time program, contribute their point of view but at the same time seek a common ground of action.

It would be impossible to leave the administrative staff of the city out of any story intended to give a true picture of the human factor in the city's government. It is this staff that is charged with the carrying out of policies at the point where the personal and property interest of a community becomes involved. The type of men who have accepted and filled these positions speaks again as to the ability of the directorate.

On the score of the human element as contributing to the success of manager government in Kalamazoo,

many statements of commendation have been made by the city commission and the administrative staff upon the effectiveness, the faithfulness, and the wholehearted interest displayed by the average employee in the city service. These officials believe that the city's employees, as a group, have an unusual record for conserving the property and funds of the city and for the faithful performance of duty.

It is quite significant that the civil service clause of the manager charter of 1918 was not given expression by ordinance and rules until 1937. The reason is to be found in the constantly satisfactory conditions of city personnel relations. The civil service ordinance and rules, however, have put into written form the understanding which had guided personnel relations since the beginning of manager government. Today a department of personnel regulates and administers a formal up-to-date personnel program.

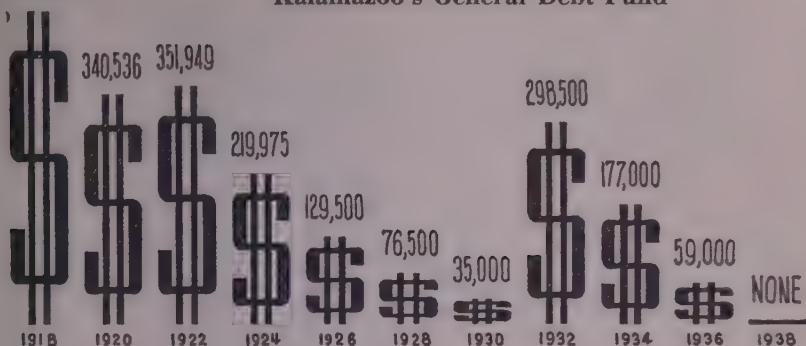
It is but natural to inquire if there has been any plan of action which might be called a master policy. The writer is convinced that there is such a controlling consideration which might well be expressed as it was in the introduction to the charter, "to set up and to maintain a business-like government."

The outstanding program of Kalamazoo officials, judged by results, has been their determination to follow a "pay-as-you-go" policy. How far has the city been able to go under such a policy?

In the years preceding the adoption of manager government and in the first few years following it, be-

462,836

## Kalamazoo's General Debt Fund



tween 15 and 20 per cent of each tax dollar was used to pay debt charges. When the first commission under the manager charter took office in 1918, the city's bonded indebtedness was about \$681,000, more than the total city budget for that year. In 1937, however, the city burned its last bond in a public ceremony and became the only city of over 50,000 population in the country to be entirely free from bonded indebtedness in its general fund.<sup>2</sup>

Not only has all general bonded indebtedness been retired, but substantial progress has been made along all fronts:

A new city hall has been built and equipped at a cost of nearly half a million dollars.

The police department has undergone a thorough transformation. In 1918, shortly after manager government became effective, a detective bureau and an identification bureau were created and their services in the solution of crime have been constantly expanded. The detective bureau

has cleared by arrest every case of murder in the city since 1929, and has recovered a good percentage of stolen property. Since 1929 the department has handled the regulation of traffic through a separate traffic bureau which has been especially active in the education of school children in safety measures. Since 1936 there have been no fatalities at school crossings.

In 1924 the city, together with the Board of Education, undertook a program of supervised recreation for the city. Playground space has been provided, especially in those sections where the juvenile delinquency rate was high; gymnasiums, tennis courts, golf courses, swimming pools have been installed; and symphony concerts, dances, dramatics, etc., have been arranged. Park development has been equally progressive. In 1918 there were less than a hundred acres of park land, 25 per cent of which was developed. In 1938 parks covered 394 acres, of which 75 per cent was developed. Municipal golf courses contain an additional 270 acres. Arrangement of parks is such that every house in the city is within one mile

<sup>2</sup>See also "For Debt Service Nothing," by Douglas Doubleday, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1938.

of some park or playground area.

In 1918 there were 28½ miles of paved streets; in 1938 there were 77¾ miles, an increase of nearly 150 per cent. The public works department in 1923 began the paving of city streets itself rather than awarding jobs to private contractors. In that year it purchased its own asphalt plant and reduced the cost of paving by almost half. Sewer construction has also been undertaken by the city in place of letting contracts, at great reduction in cost.

But the record of the government of the city on review need not stop here. Witness the practice of centralized purchasing and the regularity with which the city is able to make a saving, in terms of discount, through prompt payment of its invoices. A budget, payroll procedure, and other financial controls are now operative. The record indicates that these controls are applied with splendid results because of the interest on the part of all concerned in carrying on the task of government on the basis of fullest possible information.

The desire to operate the city's government upon the basis of factual data, however, is not confined to fiscal transactions. Assessments are based on property appraisals made by competent experts and include separate valuations for land and improvements.

About a year ago a survey of the whole governmental setup was made by an expert concern in order to base action of importance to every citizen upon data determined by a disinterested authority.

Another evidence of the policy of making essential data available before a plan of action is decided upon,

is found in the Bureau of Municipal Research, operated since 1934 as a branch of the office of the city manager. It was this service agency which undertook the preparation of *Your City and Its Government* a year ago. A list of the surveys made—a study of tax limitation laws, investigation of facilities at the city airport, a plan for the classification of positions in the municipal service, a study of incentives in city employment, an appraisal of relief trends over a period of ten years, and two surveys of refuse collection methods of Kalamazoo and other cities—is significant. Significant also is the interest of the city commission and administration in coöperating with the bureau in a program of training for the field of public service.

The annual examination of the reports of the city auditor, together with ample test checks to enable the outside auditor to certify to the correctness of such reports, is another indication of the policy of the city to avail itself of the services of impartial experts. Technical operations of the personnel department, such as classification, examination, procedure, etc., are cared for through an arrangement with the Municipal Personnel Service, a staff of experts made available by the Michigan Municipal League.

The city has utilized its own laboratories in the departments of health, police, and public works for the building up of new procedures and for original investigations, as well as the care of routine matters.

It is also significant to note the policy of the city with reference to

(Continued on Page 351)



# Wangling Reapportionment for Michigan

*So-called balanced legislature plan for House of Representatives "defective in emphasis" and only "partial in curative ability"; fails to settle numerous reapportionment problems.*

By CHARLES W. SHULL  
*Wayne University*

ONCE again the nine-lived problem of legislative reapportionment has appeared in Michigan. Following in the wake of efforts in 1928, 1930, and 1932 to bring about a reapportioning of the legislative chambers of the state, the proposal for which petitions are now being circulated is, in comparison with its predecessors, delightfully brief and understandably simple.

Avoiding the length of text and wealth of detail that characterized the so-called Michigan plan which was rejected by the voters in 1932, the present proposal seeks only the reduction of the size of the Michigan House of Representatives from one hundred to sixty-four. It is this attempt at reorganization and reapportionment by the indirect route through reduction of membership that has come to be called the proposed balanced legislature for Michigan.

Billed as a drive to reduce the House of Representatives, the proposal may seem to have some inherent merit and possess a fairly broad popular appeal. But to the observer this argument seems more specious than real. If it presumes the avoidance of reapportionment, by arguing that the issue as presented does not encompass such an eventuality but merely proposes to

reduce the size of the House of Representatives by 36 per cent, then the scheme cannot be charged with intellectual honesty. It is equally unfair, however, to charge the proponents of the scheme with resort to subterfuge, for there is little in the recent legislative history of Michigan to encourage anyone to expect reapportionment unless it can be wangled by chicanery and skullduggery.

Fifteen years have elapsed since Michigan enacted measures providing for reapportionment of seats in her House of Representatives and Senate. These acts were based upon the census of 1920, and no succeeding legislation has been passed.

Within these decades, 1920-1930 and 1930-1940, has occurred the tremendous industrial development of Michigan. The national census of 1920 just preceded the great growth of urban centers in the state, and thus in 1925 could not have been an accurate measure of populational distribution at even that date. Joined to this evident discrimination by reason of the lateness of the apportionment and the failure to utilize in any way the 1930 census as a basis for reallocation, is the very deep and real antipathy between rural and urban sections of Michigan. This

cleavage apparently was strong enough in 1925 to force Governor Groesbeck to resort to every known logrolling device to secure the passage of acts even as unsatisfactory as those of that year.

More recently the bitterness engendered because of the prohibition struggle and repeal, the controversy over sit-down strikes, the reaction to the Murphy administration, and the reliance of the Republican party organization upon the small-town or rural petty politician, have all served to make extremely painful the problem of reapportionment. In addition the fortuitous circumstance that practically all recent proposals seeking reapportionment have come from Wayne County, which to the average "outstater" signifies Detroit, has further complicated the search for a solution equitable and fair to all.

Harnessed to all these handicaps, it would seem that any suggested scheme for legislative reconstruction in Michigan is virtually foredoomed to failure. Whether this will be the case with the so-called scheme for a balanced legislature remains to be seen.

#### HOUSE MEMBERSHIP REDUCED

The balanced legislature plan calls for no change in the membership of the Senate, which will remain at thirty-two. It does provide for a reduction from one hundred to sixty-four in the House of Representatives. No other portion of the constitutional provisions relating to legislative apportionment would be altered in any way. The chief storm centers, the retention of the power to reapportion by the legislature itself and the con-

tinuation of the moiety clause, would still remain to dog and make troublesome any future shuffle of legislative seats. Furthermore, the proponents of the balanced legislature are vague as to the precise allocation of seats thereunder, and are equally ambiguous as to the way the legislature does become balanced. When the question is raised the answer invariably is a reference to the 1940 figures, which of course are not available as this is being written, or it is a point blank dictum to the effect that this matter will be left to the legislature in 1941, should the amendment pass.

In order to determine the validity of the arguments advanced in behalf of the balanced legislature, we must review the entire history of reapportionment in Michigan in recent years.

Under the acts of 1925 one hundred seats in all were allocated to the House of Representatives. Of these one hundred seats, fifty-two were awarded on the basis of attainment of the full ratio of representation. Included in this total are the twenty-one members apportioned to Wayne County. Upon the basis of the 1920 census the full ratio of representation was 36,684, and the moiety thereof 18,342. Forty-eight members thus held their seats by reason of less than the full quota of population requisite to the awarding of a member on the basis of the ratio of representation.

Of the fifty-two earned seats, the counties now commonly classed as urban or metropolitan accounted for approximately forty-two. These were distributed as follows: Wayne County, twenty-one; Kent, five; Genesee, three; Saginaw, two; Macomb, Ot-tawa, Washtenaw, Calhoun, Ingham,

Jackson, Oakland, Bay, Berrien, Kalamazoo, and Muskegon, one each. Again, at least eight of these fifty-two seats represented those wherein the assumption is made that a combination of earned seat and moiety seat occurs, in which combination the precise quota of 36,684 can be claimed for the earned seat. We list here the counties in which this occurred, and omit them from the tabular presentation of the numerical variation in the number of persons actually represented by the earned member. Full quotas in earned-moiety combinations were found in Bay, Berrien, Houghton, Kalamazoo, Muskegon, Saginaw, and St. Clair—two seats in Saginaw.

TABLE I

ACTUAL NUMBER OF PERSONS PER  
EARNED SEAT

<i>County</i>	<i>Number of Persons</i>	<i>Deviation</i>
Wayne	56,078	+53%
Washtenaw	49,520	+35%
Lenawee	47,767	+30%
Ottawa	47,660	+29%
Marquette	45,787	+25%
Oakland	45,025	+25%
Genesee	41,889	+14%
Ingham	40,776	+11%
Macomb	38,103	+4%
Allegan	37,540	+2%
Monroe	37,115	+1%
Kent	36,608	—1%
Calhoun	36,408	—1%
Jackson	36,270	—2%

Of the forty-eight seats allotted because of the moiety clause, a three-fold separation and classification is possible. Seven of them occur in the earned-moiety combination of multiple seats. Twenty-seven moiety seats were given to single counties upon the basis of moiety. Fourteen seats were allotted to combinations of counties, multiple county districts in

other words, in conformity with constitutional mandate.

Within the seven multiple-seat counties, the population served by each moiety member ranged from 21,325 in St. Clair County to 35,246 in Houghton. The twenty-seven members representing that number of moiety counties upon the 1925 apportionment started out by serving a population per member that ranged from 17,522 in Livingston County to 35,924 in Shiawassee. The fourteen multiple-county districts, compassing two to five counties each, showed a range in moiety served from 20,034 in the Cheboygan district to 32,979 in Newaygo district. Moiety, or a major fraction, was thus a figure ranging throughout the state as a whole from a numerical minimum of 17,522 to a maximum of 35,924, with a percentage range in terms of the ratio of representation from 47.8 per cent to 97.9 per cent. The median in terms of numerical population was 25,782, on a percentage basis 70.8 per cent of the quota. The range in number of persons represented by the individual member was 17,522 to 56,078, the median being 34,774.

#### A PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION

Enough evidence has probably been presented to indicate that the 1925 apportionment was far from an equitable allocation of the House of Representatives membership.

For the purposes of our analysis of the balanced legislature proposal we shall perforce have to deal in terms of the 1930 census, upon which basis there has been no apportionment and undoubtedly will be none. The cen-



sus of 1930 revealed first a general population increase in the state of Michigan from 3,668,412 in 1920 to 4,842,325. Thirty-seven Michigan counties increased in population during that decade, such increases ranging from 0.9 per cent in Chippewa County to 134.5 per cent in Oakland. The median increase was 14.1 per cent. The remaining forty-six counties obviously lost population at various rates, the percentage range being 0.11 per cent in Bay County to 36.09 per cent in Houghton; the median here, 9.7 per cent.

Had there been an apportionment subsequent to the 1930 census, the ratio of representation would have been 48,423, with moiety set at 24,212. These figures compare with 36,684 and 18,342 respectively for the 1920 census. Thus there was an increase in the ratio of representation equal to 32 per cent of the previous quota. In turn, this increase in the ratio of representation must be compared with the rates of increase recorded in the thirty-seven enlarged counties to determine whether they gained representative memberships or not. Only a few counties could approach this norm of 32 per cent. Oakland, Macomb, Genesee, Wayne, Dickinson, Ingham, and Monroe ranged upward from 41.4 per cent to 134.5 per cent. Muskegon and Washenaw also surpassed the increase in the quota, but less spectacularly.

#### METROPOLITAN AREA BUGABOO

Discounting the latter two, there appear to be seven counties where an increase of representatives might logically be expected. Dickinson County would have retained a mem-

ber by a larger moiety, and Monroe would have advanced to an earned single seat. Increases in delegations would have been logically anticipated in only five counties—Oakland, Macomb, Genesee, Wayne, and Ingham. Consequently, those were the districts which should have profited following the census of 1930. In other words, the great bulk of the increase in population was centered in those areas; while other increases were recorded, a reapportionment following the census of 1930 would have failed to shift additional seats to thirty-two of the thirty-seven counties whose population grew between 1920 and 1930. Hence the growth of the fear of the metropolitan region of Detroit, and a pained resentment at the whole idea of reapportionment on the part of the average Michigander who saw himself slowly ground between two difficult choices—to retain moiety on the assumption that it protected the rural areas, or to abandon the cherished symbol because inexorably as population expanded it meant the legal, constitutional increase in urban representation. To do nothing became safer than action. The valor of supine slumber was more discreet.

We are now ready to present a specific allocation of the sixty-four seats proposed for the House of Representatives under the plan for a balanced legislature. Against the background sketched above will such a re-ordering of the Michigan House of Representatives have to occur, and with such handicaps will it have to contend.

Using the 1930 figures as the only ones available, we must first deter-

mine the representative quotient for a sixty-four-member House of Representatives. Thus the ratio of representation is 75,661. Applying this ratio, retaining moiety which becomes 37,831, let us now apportion the sixty-four seats in the House of Representatives under the plan for a balanced legislature. Such an application results in the tentative distribution of seats as shown in Table II:

TABLE II

<i>Number of Seats</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Earned Moiety</i>	
14	Wayne	1,888,946	14	
3	Oakland	211,251	2	1
3	Kent	240,511	3	
3	Genesee	211,641	2	1
2	Kalamazoo— Van Buren	124,005	1	1
2	Ingham	116,587	1	1
2	Saginaw	120,717	1	1
1	Monroe	52,485		1
1	Lenawee	49,849		1
1	Berrien	81,066	1	
1	Calhoun	87,043	1	
1	Jackson	92,304	1	
1	Macomb	77,146	1	
1	Allegan	38,974		1
1	Ottawa	54,858		1
1	Shiawassee	39,517		1
1	St. Clair	67,563		1
1	Muskegon	84,630	1	
1	Bay	69,474		1
1	Marquette	44,076		1
1	Houghton	52,851		1
1	Hillsdale— Branch	51,367		1
1	St. Joseph— Cass	51,506		1
1	Washtenaw— Livingston	84,804	1	
1	Eaton— Barry	52,650		1
1	Ionia— Clinton	59,267		1
1	Lapeer— Sanilac	56,099		1
1	Huron— Tuscola	64,066		1
1	Gratiot— Montcalm	57,733		1
1	Isabella— Midland	40,276		1

<i>Number of Seats</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Earned Moiety</i>
1	Menominee— Dickinson	53,493	1
1	Gogebic— Ontonagon	42,691	1
1	Delta— Alger	41,607	1
1	Oceana— Newaygo— Mecosta	64,572	1
1	Mason— Lake— Manistee	40,231	1
1	Wexford— Benzie— Grand Traverse	43,425	1
1	Chippewa— Schoolcraft— Mackinac	42,281	1
1	Iron— Baraga— Keweenaw— Luce	41,577	1
1	Missaukee— Osceola— Clare— Gladwin— Arenac	42,261	1
1	Alpena— Iosco— Alcona— Ogemaw— Roscommon	39,730	1
1	Presque Isle— Emmet— Cheboygan— Otsego— Montmorency	46,309	1
1	Leelanau— Antrim— Charlevoix— Oscoda— Kalkaska— Crawford	38,789	1

A recapitulation of these results would show thirty earned seats and thirty-four moiety places in the sixty-four-member House of Representatives.

These earned seats fall into the following counties: Berrien, Kalamazoo-Van Buren district, Calhoun, Jackson, Washtenaw-Livingston district, Macomb, Oakland, Ingham, Kent, Genesee, Saginaw, Muskegon,

and Wayne. However, on the basis of the previous classification, which was employed in connection with the 1925 act, a further breakdown is possible. Dividing these earned seats into the two categories, fully earned and earned-moiety combinations, the following result is obtained:

Berrien, Calhoun, Jackson, Washtenaw-Livingston, Macomb, Kent, Muskegon, and Wayne appear as the units with fully earned seats. But whereas these eight districts and counties would under the balanced legislature plan receive a total of twenty-three seats, these same counties have under the 1925 apportionment act a combined total of thirty-seven places in the House of Representatives. Fourteen of the thirty-six memberships to be abolished would appear here. Earned-moiety combinations would appear in Kalamazoo-Van Buren, Oakland, Ingham, Genesee, and Saginaw Counties. A total of twelve seats would be allotted to these counties under the new scheme. Under existing law these same governmental units hold thirteen seats, making a net loss of one under the balanced legislature plan. Out of these twelve seats, however, only seven are earned, the remainder being moiety seats. Actually fifteen of the thirty-six abolished seats will be found in the earned member and earned-moiety type of seats.

Of the thirty-four moiety seats, five falling within the earned-moiety type of membership have already been discussed. There remain twenty-nine more. Seven of these are allotted to single counties, while twenty-two multiple-county districts

are necessary to complete the allocation under moiety.

Specifically, Wayne County would lose seven members of its present twenty-one; but with fourteen members under the new plan would actually possess 0.8 per cent more representation—not a great help toward achieving greater balance in terms of representation. Kent County would lose two members. Berrien, Calhoun, Jackson, St. Clair, Saginaw, Muskegon, Bay, and Houghton would lose one each; while the combination of Kalamazoo and Van Buren, of Hillsdale and Branch, of St. Joseph and Cass, of Washtenaw and Livingston, of Eaton and Barry, of Ionia and Clinton, of Lapeer and Sanilac, of Huron and Tuscola, of Gratiot and Montcalm, would cut the representation of these counties nine members below the present basis. Thus far, twenty-six of the thirty-six seats abolished by the balanced legislature plan lie in the lower portion of the state. Ingham, Genesee, Marquette, Monroe, Lenawee, Macomb, Allegan, Ottawa, Shiawassee, would retain their present number of seats. Only Oakland would gain, and this but one seat. A rearrangement of the remaining counties into multiple-county districts, ranging in size from two to six counties, would account for the rest.

#### IS BALANCE SECURED?

It is, one must confess, a bit difficult to see just how balance is achieved in the State House of Representatives by this device, unless the population of the state increases in 1940 to such an extent that the quota

(Continued on Page 314)



# Mississippi Leads South in Rural Housing

*Twenty-six county housing authorities lay plans for rehousing seven thousand families now living in substandard dwellings.*

By M. H. SATTERFIELD  
*Tennessee Valley Authority*

THE assumption of public responsibility for rural housing is a new and significant development in the United States. Although surveys and investigations have long revealed the unsatisfactory condition of housing in rural areas, it is only in the last year that steps have been taken to correct this condition. The United States housing act passed in 1937 provided federal funds for housing projects in "rural or urban communities," but the program as developed was primarily for urban areas. Since the United States Housing Authority can render assistance only upon the request of local agencies, first consideration, of course, is given to those local governments taking the initiative in establishing housing authorities, and practically all the local housing authorities in existence at the time of the passage of the act were municipal authorities. After the passage of the act cities and towns throughout the nation began to set up additional authorities and to request federal assistance in providing adequate housing facilities.<sup>1</sup>

Interest in rural housing, however, soon began to develop and during 1939 the United States Housing

Authority formulated a rehousing plan applicable to rural areas. Furthermore, legislation now pending before the Congress would make \$200,000,000 (one-fourth of the new loan authorization) "exclusively available" for rural housing projects.<sup>2</sup> By March 1, 1940, a program of public rural housing was well under way. Housing authorities had been established in sixty-four counties and six counties had made application to the United States Housing Authority for assistance in undertaking rural housing developments. Mississippi has taken the lead in the development of rural housing in the South.<sup>3</sup>

## HOUSING LEGISLATION

In Mississippi both municipalities and counties are authorized to engage in public housing activities.<sup>4</sup> A rural housing program, however, offers greater promise because Mississippi is primarily a rural state. Only two of its cities had populations in 1930 of 25,000 or over. Most of the incorporated places are small towns and villages with fewer than 1,000

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 25-29.

<sup>2</sup>Of the sixty-four county housing authorities as of March 1, 1940, twenty-six were in Mississippi. Four other southern states had county housing authorities as of this date: Arkansas had ten, and Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia each had one.

<sup>4</sup>*Laws of Mississippi*, 1938, chap. 338.

<sup>3</sup>Federal Works Agency, *Annual Report of the United States Housing Authority*, 1939, pp. 25-26.

inhabitants. Of the 313 incorporated places in the state in 1930, only thirty-nine reported populations of 2,500 or more. These thirty-nine municipalities accounted for only 16.9 per cent of the total population. Thus it can be seen that any extensive housing program must of necessity be framed for rural areas.<sup>5</sup>

County housing authorities in Mississippi can be established by action of the county board of supervisors. A resolution declaring that a need for the functioning of the authority exists may be passed by the board on its own motion or in response to a petition signed by twenty-five residents of the county. The county housing authority consists of five members appointed by the board of supervisors for five-year overlapping terms. Most of the counties that have established housing authorities have selected one member from each of the five districts of the county, although this distribution is not required by the act. Members of the housing authority receive no compensation other than necessary traveling expenses and may not hold any other county office.

The county housing authority is empowered to employ a secretary and such technical experts and other employees as it may require and to determine their qualifications, duties, and compensation. The authority has the right to sue and be sued, to enter into contractual relation-

ships, and to acquire and hold property. It also has the power to issue bonds to finance any housing project undertaken. The bonds are not obligations of the county but are to be paid out of the revenue from the housing project or from grants or contributions of the federal government. The county, however, is empowered to donate and lend money to the county housing authority, and may invest in housing authority bonds.

#### CONDITION OF RURAL HOUSING

The percentage of farm tenancy is higher in Mississippi than in any other state in the union. Of the 311,683 farms reported in the state as of January 1, 1935, 217,564 or 69.8 per cent were operated by tenants. In only four counties in the state were less than 25 per cent of the farms operated by tenants. On the other hand, in eight counties more than 90 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants. One of these, with 94.7 per cent farm tenancy, had a tenancy rate twenty-one times that of the state of Maine.<sup>6</sup> Mississippi likewise has a large number of Negro tenants. In 1935, 67.9 per cent of the tenant farms were operated by Negroes.

The excessively large farm tenant population has contributed to the decadence of rural life in Mississippi. Conditions in rural areas of the state have been pointed out by the Mississippi State Planning Commission as follows: "An extended drive through rural sections of the state

---

<sup>5</sup>There are, however, seven municipal housing authorities in Mississippi, five of which have received loans from the United States Housing Authority. See forthcoming study by M. H. Satterfield and Hugh W. Urban entitled *Municipal Government and Administration in Mississippi*.

---

<sup>6</sup>Mississippi State Planning Commission, *State Planning in Mississippi*, Progress Report, January 1938, pp. 52-53.

displays desolate conditions: poor housing, eroded hillsides, and tragic lack of home conveniences.<sup>7</sup> A survey of farm housing in Mississippi made in 1934 showed that approximately 40 per cent of all the farm houses were in poor structural condition because of defective foundations, floors, walls, or roofs; less than a fourth of the homes were considered in good structural condition. Rural dwellings have deteriorated since this survey, and a recent estimate by the Mississippi State Planning Commission indicates that approximately 70 per cent of the rural homes in the state are substandard on the basis of structural defects or essential rural home conveniences. Many of these are ramshackle old shanties that look unfit for human habitation. The substandard living conditions of rural families in Mississippi clearly indicate the need for a comprehensive program of rural housing.

#### RURAL HOUSING PROGRAM

Although the rural housing program in Mississippi was slow in getting started, its growth in recent months has been phenomenal. The first Mississippi county housing authority was organized in November 1939. By February 14, 1940, housing authorities had been established in twenty-five other Mississippi counties.<sup>8</sup> A number of these

authorities have already submitted applications to the United States Housing Authority for funds. Each authority proposes to construct from 150 to 400 dwellings at an estimated cost of approximately \$2,000 per dwelling unit.<sup>9</sup> These units will be rented to rural families of low income at an annual net rental of approximately \$50 per year. Negro and white families that are small farm owners, tenants, sharecroppers, and rural wage earners are eligible to participate in the program.

Unlike urban housing developments, the rural housing projects in Mississippi will be made up of single dwellings built on individual farms. Sites for the dwellings are to be acquired by the local housing authority through donation, particularly if the applicant is a small farm owner, or at a nominal cost. Each site is to be of sufficient size to provide space for a family garden, an orchard, and for poultry. No dwelling, however, can be constructed on any farm unless the farm has been approved as a desirable economic agricultural unit by the United States Department of Agriculture. Another factor considered in the selection of dwelling sites is the accessibility of the farms to highways, schools, markets, and agricultural processing plants.

---

titles for submittal to the United States Housing Authority. Mr. Owen Cooper, assistant state director of the Mississippi State Planning Commission, furnished much of the information on the rural housing program in Mississippi.

<sup>9</sup>The application of the Madison County Housing Authority, for example, calls for 300 dwelling units at an estimated development cost of \$636,000, or a cost of \$2,127 per dwelling unit.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup>The Mississippi State Planning Commission has been largely responsible for the development of a rural housing program in Mississippi. The commission not only sponsored legislation authorizing establishment of county housing authorities but has also worked with counties in organizing local authorities and in preparing applica-



After an applicant has been accepted by the local housing authority as an eligible and worthy tenant, a contract is executed in which the tenant agrees to tear down or effectively close as living quarters the dwelling vacated, to make the necessary rental payments for the new dwelling,<sup>10</sup> and to conform to a program of sound farm management consistent with accepted farm methods. In this connection, county housing authorities in Mississippi have indicated that they will designate as housing managers persons trained in agriculture so that a program of improved

---

<sup>10</sup>Under legislation now pending before Congress, local housing authorities would be authorized "to make long-term leases or purchase agreements or otherwise to rent or sell rural housing to families of low income."

## WANGLING REAPPORTIONMENT

(Continued from Page 310)

rises above 80,000, and moiety above 40,000. However, an eventuality of this kind will merely strengthen out-state opposition to the measure.

More pertinently, the proposed balanced legislature plan is defective in emphasis and partial in curative ability. It does accomplish apportionment, but much in the same way as if a leg were amputated to get rid of a shin-splint. It leaves the execution of the new apportionment in the hands of the 1941 legislature, assumes that legislative bodies in the future will not put off the day of reapportionment as in the past, does not require a new reallocation of senatorial seats, still retains moiety but nips in the bud the possibility of

farming practices may be inaugurated on each farm where a dwelling is constructed by the authority.

The necessary framework for an extensive program of rural housing in Mississippi has been set up. Further progress, however, depends upon action of Congress. If funds for rural housing are provided and the proposals of the twenty-six county housing authorities in Mississippi are approved, it will mean that approximately seven thousand families now living in substandard dwellings will be provided with decent new homes. While the proposed program will replace only about 10 per cent of the substandard rural dwellings in the twenty-six counties concerned, it is nevertheless an important beginning and, if successful, will undoubtedly be expanded.

its forced use on a larger number of seats. Finally, it is open to the fundamental charge that it does not cure the problem of reapportionment at all. It does assure one apportionment on the basis of sixty-four members, but does not make plain the need for regular, periodic apportionment without legislative intervention, through the medium of an apportionment commission such as is utilized in a few states. Herein lies the prime fault and defect of the scheme.

Official blessings have been poured upon the balanced legislature by the Wayne County Board of Auditors, by the Mayor and Council of Detroit. Mayhap salvation lies down that road, but one must fear lest the half a loaf be rank with mould and stale with age.

# Buffalo Standardizes Jobs and Pay

*New salary survey reclassifies the six thousand positions in the city's service and sets minimum and maximum salaries for each classification.*

By SIDNEY DETMERS

*Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.*

**S**ALARY surveys are not new to Buffalo. Five or six have been made for the city or the county during the past ten years. But when a prominent city official characterizes the one just concluded as "a piece of work for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of Buffalo," it may be presumed that this one is "different." In what respects, with some of the experiences of the committee having the survey and report in charge, is here related.

What initiated this survey were the salary cuts which the mayor made in formulating his recommended budget for the fiscal year 1938-39. Some of his reductions were extremely drastic and some, under civil service rules, were perhaps illegal. Widespread objection to the budget salaries by city employees impelled the common council, although it adopted the budget, to refer the dispute to a select committee for consideration and recommendation. This, however, was but the first phase of the work assigned to the committee. It was also to make a complete study of salaries and jobs and report its findings and recommendations to the council.

To settle the budget dispute the committee after much study and argument recommended a cut of 10 per cent from the salaries as they were at their high point several years before, but in no case was the cut

to be below the minimum of the employee's civil service grade, with some exceptions. The solution was accepted by the mayor, the council, and the employees alike. This disposed of the committee's first assignment.

The committee was composed of twelve persons: three of them were councilmen, others were the director of the budget, the deputy comptroller, the mayor's personnel secretary, and six private citizens. Of the last named two were moderate labor leaders, one a prominent lawyer, one the president of a taxpayer's organization, one a Catholic priest, and one the present writer. In addition, an advisory group having no vote was appointed, numbering somewhat more than the authoritative committee. Both the council and the mayor participated in naming the committee.

The next duty of the committee was to recommend standard salaries for all the six thousand positions in the city's service, which would bring them into line one with another, and into line with what was being paid for like services in comparable cities and in local private employment. This, obviously, was first a matter of fact-finding, and here is one respect in which this survey was "different" from its predecessors, namely: to divorce the findings of fact from any taint of personal or politi-

cal bias, a private professional firm was hired to obtain all the basic data needed for the committee's consideration. The firm worked on its task while the committee was engaged on the first phase of its assignment mentioned above.

#### SETTING UP JOB STANDARDS

The firm first had to determine the range and character of the duties being performed in every position in every city department, and to classify and define these duties. Each employee was personally interviewed, or, where like duties prevailed throughout a group, as in the department of police, a typical representative of the group was interviewed. The interviews were reduced to writing, signed by the employee, and then checked as to accuracy by the head of his department.

Based on this information, and without reference to the individual then holding the position, the jobs were classified, titled, defined, exemplified, minimum qualifications prescribed, and the principal lines of promotion indicated. Thus, as it were, pigeon-holes were provided into one or another of which any person then or in future in the city's employ would fit, according to the particular nature of his duties and responsibilities. It is to be noted that no attempt was made to say where any present employee would be placed. There was merely a catalogue of jobs.

The firm's next step was to attach to each of its classified jobs a minimum and maximum salary, as determined by its findings of what was being paid in comparable cities and

in local private employment for like duties. Many difficulties, the solution of which required nice judgment, were experienced here. The range of salaries encountered in various cities often reflected special qualifications in the individuals receiving them, or, as may well be the case, there were salaries too low or too high due to personal or political influence or mere lack of knowledge by those who set the rates. The committee later found this to be the case in Buffalo, and it is reasonable to think that it prevailed elsewhere. In the end, however, a fair average was obtained and used to construct the tentative Buffalo schedule of rates.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S STRUGGLES

All this information was finally put before the committee of twelve in a printed volume of 243 pages. Up to this time the committee had adopted no rules for its procedure in spite of efforts by some members to have them formulated. There seemed to be a fear that unless everything was "in the open," something would be "put over" by somebody. So the committee sat around its table, surrounded by the advisory committee, reporters, and the public generally, to the capacity of the room. After struggling with the firm's report under such circumstances for two sessions with little or no progress, a subcommittee of five was appointed to go to work on it, and to report its findings and recommendations back to the main committee. Reporters, advisors, and the public were excluded from the subcommittee's sessions, and after a year of work it reported. Its report was approved by the main



committee, adopted by the common council, and signed by the mayor.

The report provided rules to the effect that the new standard rates, titles, etc., would not apply to any present employee as long as he held his present position or when he was transferred to a like position in another department. It also provided that any then present employee who was receiving less than the standard minimum rate should have his salary increased to the standard minimum. Employees coming into the city service after adoption of the schedule were required to take the beginning rate, which thereafter normally was advanced \$100 a year for three years to the maximum. As, of the six thousand employees, about one hundred drop out every year, in the course of time the whole force would be on the schedule. The great part were already within the schedule range.

Some objection developed to the rules as they were first reported by the subcommittee, which resulted in a withdrawal of the report for further consideration. The objectors were then brought in and after several discussions, in which the rules were explained or modified, full agreement was reached without sacrifice of any principle on which the report was based. The objectors were chiefly civil service employees, and their representatives appeared before the main committee when the report as modified was again submitted, and urged the adoption of the report as it was thus formulated.

#### RATES OF PRESENT EMPLOYEES

In not reducing the rates of pres-

ent employees the committee was influenced by several considerations. The rates they were receiving had already been cut from a previous higher rate at which many had been hired. They had reasonable expectation of substantially that range of salary and on it had based their personal affairs. The city itself had been a party to fixing these rates. From the humanitarian, fair-play viewpoint, cuts in certain instances would have caused hardship and disturbance of morale. The number of over-payments involved was relatively few, and the cost to the city not great. Finally, this rule eliminated an element of protest which might have killed the whole project and all the benefit which both the city and the employees will in time enjoy from the uniformity of rates on a sound basis of relative duties and responsibilities.

#### PROVISION FOR CONTINUATION

Salaries of city employees, in the absence of scientifically constructed schedules, are fixed at the whim of the common council or the mayor. The exercise of this legal prerogative has become a habit which it is difficult to break. The committee therefore in its report, which the council adopted, provided for the continuation of the new arrangement by a special committee of three councilmen to which all questions of salaries, rules, etc., must be referred. The secretary of the standardization committee of twelve, who acted also for the subcommittee of five, is the secretary of this council committee, and insures as far as is possible that all this work shall not be in vain, but

will be utilized by this and future councils.

#### THE THIRD PHASE

The third and final phase of the report of the committee of twelve was the application of the increases to present employees who are paid less than the standard rates. By any rule of fair dealing they are entitled to the advance, although the city happens at this time to be close to its taxing limit under the state constitution. Every effort is being made to keep faith with the employees of whom some five hundred are underpaid.

In its financial aspect, these five hundred increases will cost nominally \$85,000 this coming year. But, with the normal annual dropping out of one hundred and one hundred new employees going in at the minimum standard the actual increase will probably not exceed \$45,000. In the following year a further dropping out should approximately wipe out any increase in the total pay roll compared with pre-standardized years. Thereafter for some years there should be an actual saving each year.

With a pay roll of \$11,000,000 a year, the largest of the net increases, \$45,000 for one year, is a small price to pay to secure the improved morale resulting from the knowledge that employees' salaries are fixed, not by "pull" or whim but by a fairly determined schedule. Furthermore the schedules offer a bar against higher salaries which without the schedule the councils might fix in the future.

The second phase of the work, the construction of a standard schedule of initial and final rates for each job, is, of course, the principal one. We summarize the unusual features of this Buffalo survey which seem to us to have secured its adoption, although in the past all such attempts to standardize have failed:

#### SUMMARY

1. A governing committee of councilmen, executive city employees, and private citizens, representing various types of thought, to deal with the matter;

2. A working subcommittee of those most familiar with the subject and willing to devote much time to it;

3. A professional firm competent to obtain and formulate the basic data for the committees' study;

4. An able secretary to the committees, preferably secured on loan from the professional firm;

5. Conference, and coöperation as far as possible, with representatives of the civil service employees, but exclusion of them from committee membership;

6. A "continuation" agency to hold the ground already secured, to deal with changed conditions, and to see that the principles of the survey report are not overlooked in the future by those in charge of the city's government;

7. Obviously, the competence of the men who make up the survey committee to deal with an intricate and often delicate problem.

# Employment Stabilization Jeopardized by Conflicting Tax Laws

*American employers who attempt to build up reserve stock in slack seasons, thus affording continuous work for employees, find themselves liable in many states to personal property assessment laws.*

By EMERSON P. SCHMIDT  
*University of Minnesota*

**R**ELIEF costs are the most disturbing and uncertain element in the budgets of local governments. Obstacles to steady employment should receive the most careful consideration by state and local governments in order to reduce relief requirements and provide better budget control.

American employers are making a renewed drive to stabilize their operations at this time because, in thirty-nine states, stable employment provided by the individual employer is rewarded by reduced pay roll contributions for the financing of unemployment compensation. Yet employers in about two-thirds of the states find that production for stock during the period of slack sales may be penalized under the operation of the personal property tax assessment law.

Most generally the raw material and finished goods of a manufacturer are assessed as of some specific date, frequently May 1, for taxation purposes. Many manufacturers have a winter or spring period of slack sales. Under the "experience rating" provisions of the unemployment compensation laws, they are encouraged to produce for stock during this slack period, thus providing more steady employment. Subsequent periods of peak sales are met by withdrawing a part of the requirements from the inventory on hand.

However, if the employer accumulates inventory and has it on hand on the personal property tax assessment date, his stabilization effort is penalized. Clearly here we have two laws which

work in conflict and a reconciliation of purpose is required.

## *Some Examples*

In a study of techniques and devices currently being adopted by employers, the author has had occasion to interview hundreds of employers. So frequently he has encountered this problem of assessment that he is convinced a change in the law would be in the public interest.

The president of a textile mill stated: "In the spring of the year we do not buy a pound of yarn which we do not need and we reduce our finished inventories to a minimum because on May 1 any stock, whether raw material or finished goods, costs us a personal property tax of about 3 per cent." Thus this company draws into the community enough employees to meet its peak requirements and then lays them off during the slack winter and spring period. Also by bunching its orders for yarn and other supplies, the company policy has a disturbing effect on a number of other manufacturers.

A furnace manufacturer in the same state told the writer that it is almost impossible to get its dealers in most states to accept delivery for any furnaces in the spring of the year before May 1 unless actual orders are on hand. The dealers find that their returns are cut by approximately 3 per cent on any unnecessary supplies they have on hand on assessment days and this contributes to the problem of stabilization of the furnace manufacturer. The latter also



stated that while the company has a policy of providing year-round employment as nearly as possible, "the burden of producing for stock is becoming too great in these days of thin profits."

A window frame manufacturer who encounters a peak sales demand in June or July has adopted an annual wage plan, but his efforts at stabilization are annually penalized by the same obstacle. A photographic supplies manufacturer finds that of his annual sales, 15 per cent occur in July and only about 2.5 per cent in December. In the winter and spring he produces for stock so that by April he has on hand approximately 30 per cent of the year's output. Then on May 1 the assessor comes along and assesses his inventory. He becomes liable for a tax of \$3 per \$100 of stock on hand. Were it not for the fact that top management in this company is committed to employment stabilization, such a penalty tax would be avoided by laying off employees in the slack period. The relief load would mount and further unbalance the budget of the city.

The writer has interviewed many employers who encounter this same problem but whose margin of profit is so thin that to provide the extra storage space, to finance the carrying of the inventory, and to pay such a penalty tax becomes prohibitive.

#### *Experience Rating in Unemployment Compensation Laws*

A word more should be said about the incentives for stabilization which are contained in the unemployment compensation laws. Thirty-nine state legislatures have concluded that employers can do something to provide more stable employment and have provided "experience rating" in the laws. In Illinois, for example, employers who provide steady employment may qualify for an unemployment compensation

premium rate of .5 per cent on their eligible pay roll, while employers who do not or cannot stabilize their operations pay as high as 3.6 per cent. Thus the state holds out a premium abatement of 3.1 per cent of the pay roll. This means a potential saving of \$31 per \$1,000 of pay roll. This saving may mean the difference between profit and loss, or it may change the situation from one of unsatisfactory profits to one regarded by management as satisfactory.

In Wisconsin the maximum possible saving is 4 per cent or \$40 per \$1,000 of pay roll. In this state the writer has found a veritable mass movement to stabilize. A large meat packer sent his foremen and others to a specially organized school to learn ways and means to iron out the fluctuations and avoid lay-offs. From 1926 to 1935 his average annual lay-off rate was 65 per cent, reaching as high as 89 per cent in the worst years. Since the stabilization plan has been adopted, his average lay-off rate has been about 5 per cent. His pay roll premium savings, due to this effort, amounted to about 28 per cent of the average annual profits of the preceding three years.<sup>1</sup>

The conflict between "experience rating" clauses and personal property tax assessment clauses of state statutes could be readily resolved by the simple expedient of assessing stocks and supplies of manufacturers on the basis of average annual inventories rather than the inventories as of a given date. About a dozen states already do this, but the others should follow their example.

In order to reduce opposition to the

(Continued on Page 345)

---

<sup>1</sup>For a fuller analysis of the efforts at stabilization, see "Easing the Pay Roll Tax," *Barron's Weekly*, January 1, 1940, p. 7.

# The Researcher's Digest: May

***New Jersey studies municipal consolidation; "free press" in New York City; Governmental Research Association renews activity, publishes proceedings.***

**P**OPULAR interest in municipal consolidations in New Jersey has recently taken on renewed life, reports William Miller of the *Princeton Local Government Survey*. A report on "A Consolidation of the Municipalities of Passaic and Clifton, New Jersey," released in February under the joint sponsorship of the Princeton Survey and the *Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce*, is the first of a series of "spot" studies planned to test the possibilities of action under a 1939 law which was originally prepared by the survey. A second such study, to deal with adjustments in Bridgewater Township, Somerset County, will soon be completed.

As a result of the new law, known as the "Local Units Permissive Consolidation Act," relates Mr. Miller, there is now available a simple, definite and practical method whereby two or more municipalities in the same county may consolidate.

Mr. Miller continues: There never has been much local sentiment for consolidations—in fact the tendency has been quite the contrary, so that over the past forty years there have been only three consolidations with one hundred eighty-one separations. While the causes for this development are far more subtle than defects of legislation, it is clear that prior to the enactment of the new law, existing provisions, enacted in 1917 and 1923, contained defects which seriously impaired the chances of success for any consolidation movement.

Both of the old laws provided for a vote on the question before a plan of consolidation had been worked out. They also dealt inflexibly with the treatment of contracts, debts and liabilities of the consolidating municipalities, although these matters require the utmost flexibility of treatment before a workable plan can be agreed upon. The 1917 law left no choice as to the framework of government for the new municipality, and required the acceptance of the charter and ordinances of the largest in population—a device well calculated to foster that feeling of being "swallowed up." The 1923 law merely provided that the new municipality must be a "city." The Local Units Permissive Consolidation Law remedies all of these defects and repeals the 1917 and 1923 legislation.

## *Report Merely Analyzes*

The Passaic-Clifton report neither recommends nor condemns consolidation. It only purports to "analyze the values and set the problems. The answer must come from the communities themselves."

Significantly, however, the report points out that the two communities naturally supplement each other—Passaic with the prestige of a long and successful industrial development, and Clifton with successful industrial development as well as new space for both residential and industrial expansion. In the long run, consolidation of Clifton and Passaic, it is reported, would point

toward "economic advantages which would normally accrue to the sixth largest city in the state." Furthermore, there would probably be "a wider range of public services," the "elimination of costly rivalries and duplicated capital investments" which normally attend competitive growth, and "assurance of future developments in accord with a unified city plan adapted to the expanding needs of the Passaic-Clifton area."

#### *Would Increase Taxes*

For consolidation, Passaic must be willing "to share in the future capital improvements of the present Clifton area—probably a considerable burden because of Passaic's comparatively complete capital program and Clifton's capital needs over the next ten years"; "to permit equal political participation with the Clifton area in the government of the 'new' municipality"; "to place the government of the 'new' municipality under 'civil service'—as in Clifton at present"; "to encourage industrial and residential expansion in the present Clifton area." Clifton must agree "to face increased governmental cost payments for the 'new' municipality. This would mean increased valuations or a higher tax rate." It also must be ready "to pay a larger share of state and county taxes than is now required"; "to consider merging police and firemen's pension funds in the interest of a unified and solvent fund for the 'new' municipality"; "to encourage the normal growth of trade centers in the present Passaic area."

Such matters as these can be considered, adjusted, and compromised if necessary by a "joint committee," which is provided for under the new

consolidation law. The people may then vote for or against consolidation on the specific bases worked out by the committee. An intelligent appreciation of all the factors involved is being stimulated by the coöperation of the local press.

---

#### *Newspapers and a Budget*

"Free Press: for what?" inquires *New York City's Institute for Public Service* in a blistering indictment of the newspapers of the world's greatest city. The Institute's April 10 bulletin details the treatment given to the mayor's executive budget for 1940-41 by twelve daily newspapers, pointing out that one paper gave the Soviet budget two and one-half times the space devoted to the city budget; that one paper gave to a "love kiss" a three-column head and three times the space given the budget; that one paper gave a style queen and a reinstated lawyer twenty-five inches, to sixteen on the budget.

The institute points out also significant budget items which were entirely ignored by all the newspapers. All twelve, it is charged, "accepted the miscue from the mayor's message and called the total \$581,000,000 when \$687,000,000 was the 'total budget' in the summary received with his message."

---

#### *Governmental Research and Citizen Control*

Publication of the Governmental Research Bulletin of the *Governmental Research Association* has been resumed, now under the editorship of Laurence Michelmores at the GRA's new headquarters in Detroit. The issue of March 1940 is the first since that of September-October 1939.



Coincidentally, the proceedings of the twenty-eighth conference of the GRA, which took place in Princeton last September, have been issued. As Dr. W. E. Mosher, chairman of the organization's executive committee, explains in his foreword, the conference was built around three leading ideas: (1) redefinition of the objectives of the GRA, with emphasis upon the importance of citizen interest and citizen support; (2) the proposal that a national organization should be set up which would appeal to those primarily interested in research, administration, and progressive measures for bringing about improvement through the application of scientific principles; and (3) consideration of recent important advances in one or another aspect of administration.

Papers by many of the "great names" of governmental research are given in full or digested. The proceedings have been titled *Governmental Research and Citizen Control of Government*.

## Research Bureau Reports Received

### *Consolidation*

A CONSOLIDATION OF THE MUNICIPALITIES OF PASSAIC AND CLIFTON, NEW JERSEY. Princeton Local Government Survey, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. February 15, 1940. 24 pp.

### *Cost of Government*

Cost of Government in Canada—Provincial Government. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, *Canadian Taxation*, April 8, 1940. 4 pp.

MUNICIPAL FINANCES IN NEW JERSEY—A RECORD OF IMPROVEMENT. (Supplement to Research Bulletin No. 109). New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Newark, N. J. 17 pp.

### *Debt*

LOCATION AND RELATIVE BURDEN OF LOCAL DEBT. Princeton Survey of New Jersey Finance, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. February 1, 1940. 4 pp.

### *Governmental Research*

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH AND CITIZEN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT. Governmental Research Association, Detroit, Michigan. January, 1940. 168 pp.

### *Liquor*

STATE LIQUOR CONTROL ADMINISTRATION—A STATUTORY ANALYSIS. By Dorothy Campbell Culver and Jack E. Thomas. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, February 15, 1940. 80 pp.

### *Motor Vehicles*

To Reduce Motor-Vehicle Accidents. Bureau of Municipal Research, Philadelphia, *Citizens' Business*, March 19, 1940. 3 pp.

### *Newspapers*

Free Press: For What? Institute for Public Service, New York City, 1940. 4 pp.

### *Planning*

State Planning. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, *Bulletin*, Number G-14. 2 pp.

### **Population Trends**

POPULATION GROWTH AND UNEMPLOYMENT. By V. B. Stanbery. Western Governmental Research Association, Berkeley, *Governmental Research Notes*, December-March, 1939-40. 10 pp.

### **Public Welfare**

State Assistance for Child Welfare in Boston. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, March 30, 1940. 4 pp.

Our Poor Relief "System (?)". The Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *The Public Purse*, February 29, 1940. 4 pp.

Volume and Cost of Relief, 1939. Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Municipal Research*, March 1940. 1 p.

### **Schools**

Resolutions of Board of Trustees on School Matters. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs*, March 21, 1940. 5 pp.

The Pressing School Problem in New York State. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, *Bulletin*, Number G-13. 2 pp.

Should the Legislature Investigate School Finances? Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, *Bulletin*, Number G-15. 2 pp.

### **Taxation**

Improving Tax Collections — A Sample in Personal Property!! Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs*, March 14, 1940. 3 pp.

Kansas City School District Real Estate Tax Delinquency (Excluding penalties and interest). Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs*, April 4, 1940. 3 pp.

A "Pay Your Taxes" Campaign Can Do It. Civic Research Institute, *Kansas City Public Affairs*, April 11, 1940. 1 p.

Centralization of State Tax Collection. Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, March 21, 1940. 1 p.

The Ohio Tax Problem. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, April 2, 1940. 1 p.

How Dayton Stands on Delinquent Taxes Today. The Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, April 15, 1940. 2 pp.

Tax Penalty and Interest Moratorium. Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Bulletin*, April 15, 1940. 3 pp.

How Should Pavement Costs Be Allocated Among New Jersey Highway Users? Princeton Survey of New Jersey Finance, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, February 14, 1940. 1 p.

### **Unemployment Compensation**

TOWARD STEADY JOBS. Department of Governmental Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce. February 7, 1940. 16 pp.

### **Voting**

Election Districts. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, April 16, 1940. 3 pp.

# Education for Democracy— Ideals and Values

By P. P. WOMER

*Chairman, Citizenship Committee, National Municipal League*

THERE is today a widespread and growing feeling that in developing our system of education we have not adequately visualized the proper contribution of education either in the making of competent citizens, or in the making of a competent citizen body—one that functions competently as a body.

In a general way we have believed in the importance of education for democracy, but the educational values that would best serve the interests of democracy and the kind of program required for the effective inculcation of those values are still confused and obscure.

One serious confusion, both in the public mind and in the mind of educators themselves, is the identification of education for citizenship with patriotic indoctrination. Even in advanced democratic nations education for citizenship has tended to emphasize national traditions, uncritical acceptance of official truth, blind obedience to the commands of imposed authority, belief in the status quo.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that education for citizenship means the initiation of people into the corporate life of the democratic community—identifying them with the problems of the democratic community and teaching them to contribute their full share in solving such problems in ways that mean progress and the common good.

In education for American citizenship one important fact must be taken into account. The rapid process of events since the beginning of the twentieth century has changed a loosely organized society, which provided unlimited scope for the display of such individual qualities as independence, self-reliance, and initiative, into a closely knit society of individuals and groups whose welfare is inter-related and interdependent. The new society demands coöperative effort to such an extent and of such a type that democratic ideals as once conceived appear to have lost their worth.

To be more concrete, it seems clear that the great historic ideals of democracy, liberty, equality, and fraternity represent values from which humanity will never turn back. In view of the closely knit society that has developed in our time, however, these historic ideals must be given a new emphasis and interest if their real values are to be conserved. "Liberty" must be thought of as the power of people in a complex society to secure the means for the widest possible development of personality and to enjoy conditions which are necessary for the achievement of well-being. "Equality" must be thought of as the removal of handicaps and the freeing of our abilities for fullest expression in equal measure for all. And "fraternity" must be thought of in terms of coöperative effort that seeks to equalize opportunity to the extent that each with a minimum of obstruction may be able to find his proper level and make his proper contribution to the common life.

Education for citizenship means not only the emphasis of certain ideals but the development of certain attitudes. And one of these is the ability to interpret patriotism in terms of practical service to the community instead of mere adulation and indulgence in theories. Saluting the flag, standing with head uncovered while the national anthem is sung, and similar forms of patriotic display have their uses: but in practical life the citizen finds that what most commonly he has



before him is not a situation that calls for sentiment, but one in which discernment, discrimination, and sound judgment are of the utmost importance. From the exalted feeling inspired by participation in a patriotic celebration it is a far cry to the average city, state, or national election where the most difficult and puzzling choices must be made.

Still another highly necessary attitude that needs to be developed is the disposition to accept without protest the manifold duties that arise out of our ordinary social relationships. Bad government may increase these duties and good government may decrease them; but the necessity of doing them is always present. And the effective citizen in modern democracy is the person who on his own initiative or in association with others goes ahead and does them.

---

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Excerpts from address at Dallas, Texas, March 21, before Regional Conference on Citizenship and Government, sponsored by the National Municipal League and the Dallas Citizens' Council.

---

### EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from Page 290)

adoptions of the manager plan until the fall of 1945 since such an amendment would have to be passed by the 1941 and 1943 sessions of the legislature and would then have to be voted on by the people of the state at the general election in the fall of 1944); (3) if the latter, how far such a home rule amendment should go.

The Hoosier state is the proud sponsor of the so-called Indiana Plan whereby local budgets are subject to state review. Can an amendment be drawn which will grant genuine municipal home rule and at the same time preserve the present measure of state control over local finances?

The significance of the Indiana problem is not confined to the borders of one state. With the development of state aid and its colleague, federal aid, other states have more and more come to the realization that too extensive home rule blocks control by the state over the money it puts up to help the local units. The converse is also true. The growing financial interest in the functions of local government threatens continued

incursion by the state on home rule powers. This is to put the problem in terms of clear cut issues and necessarily exaggerates its simplicity. To what extent may administrative control be established over local government without actual encroachment on the determination of policy by local legislative bodies? This and similar queries may be raised regarding the no-man's land that lies between state domination on the one hand and complete local autonomy on the other.<sup>1</sup>

It seems probable that the Indiana commission will have to cut the Gordian knot clearly and sharply, inasmuch as the issue stands out in bolder relief in Indiana than in most states. It may be presumed that the Indiana leaders will hammer out a home rule amendment that will be unlike any of those included in other state constitutions. Students of government throughout the country should follow with keen interest what is being done in Indiana on this problem.

H. P. J.

---

<sup>1</sup>Virgil Sheppard, a member of the Indiana manager plan commission, discusses the question in his article "The Middle Way—American Plan" on page 296 of this issue.

# Contributors in Review

---

**THOROUGHLY** identified with his subject matter, **Robert Cornell** (*Kalamazoo Examines the Record*) was born in Kalamazoo, joined the faculty of Kalamazoo College less than a year after the manager charter came into force, became director of research of the Kalamazoo Bureau of Municipal Research which serves both the college and the city, and was appointed chairman of the Kalamazoo Civil Service Board after the civil service ordinance went into effect in 1937.

---

**NO COLLEGE** degrees" apologizes **Sidney Detmers** (*Buffalo Standardizes Jobs and Pay*). "All he has to offer" are thirteen years of successful association with the Buffalo Bureau of Municipal Research, years of experience as a manager of industry specializing in its financial and scientific management problems, several terms as president of his industry's national organization and chairman of its scientific investigation committee, and presidency of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.

---

**IN CHARGE** of in-service training at Wayne University, **Laurence Michelmores** (*Wayne Staffs Detroit*) knows whereof he speaks. He also knows from personal experience the problems of California relief (California Emergency Relief Administration, 1934-35); Idaho relief (Idaho WPA, 1935-36); and Michigan taxation (Michigan Tax Study Commission 1938). Now he is assistant professor of government at Wayne, as well as a staff member of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, and assistant secretary of the GRA.

---

**HAVING** reported for this magazine during the past year on such diverse subjects as homestead tax exemption in Mississippi, P.R. elections in Norris, Tennessee, and the stand-pattism of Tennessee counties, **M. H. Satterfield's** sortie into housing (*Mississippi Leads South in Rural Housing*) is not unexpected. As associate social science analyst with the Tennessee Valley Authority, engaged in making surveys of city and county government within the Tennessee Valley area, Dr. Satterfield has the opportunity to observe many aspects of government in practice.

---

**IN ORDER** to participate in an extensive employment stabilization program, **Emerson P. Schmidt** (*Employment Stabilization Jeopardized by Conflicting Tax Laws*) is on leave of absence this year from the School of Business Administration of the University of Minnesota. Together with Jay C. Hormel, Dr. Schmidt is sending to employers on a weekly basis a loose-leaf case history of successful employment stabilization plans. He has written books on taxation, old-age security, industrial relations in urban transportation, and the economics of public utilities; has contributed to numerous popular and technical journals; and has served on several official committees dealing with economic problems.

---

**AS DIRECTOR** of the division of public assistance of the Indiana State Welfare Department, **Virgil Sheppard** (*The Middle Way—American Plan*) deals constantly with the grant-in-aid mechanism which is now an integral part of our multi-level welfare system. Mr. Sheppard has been governmental research director for the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, served in various Hoosier welfare capacities, and was associated with teaching, citizen action, and government officialdom in Toledo. At the present time he is a member of the commission established by the Indiana legislature to bring the manager plan to Hoosier municipalities.

(Continued on Page 351)

# News in Review

## City, County, State Progress in Brief

---

(Continued from Page 285)

by the League of Women Voters, and petitions to place the question on the ballot were prepared a year ago, but not circulated, by the Coal Dock Workers, a labor union. Subsequently a general reassessment of property in the city by the State Tax Commission was brought about by certain large property owners, resulting in a general increase in valuation of real property among home owners. The tax rate did not fall proportionately, and there was much dissatisfaction with the city government. The League of Women Voters decided to circulate petitions which, when filed in February, contained more than four thousand names.

A Central City Manager Campaign Committee was set up and Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal League, appeared under its auspices, speaking to many groups. The mayor made radio addresses in which he blamed the reassessment and financial troubles of the city upon this organization, absent landlords, and the daily newspaper; but at no time did he specifically indicate his opposition to the change in government.

The campaign followed the usual form. The proponents explained the manager plan and attacked the practices of the present government, while opponents called the manager form a dictatorship and attacked the claims for its success in other cities.

If any two immediate causes are to be selected as reasons for the success of the campaign I would suggest: (1) the dissatisfaction of the taxpayers with the tax increase; and (2) the apparent hopelessness of the financial situation under the present administration.

An interesting sidelight on the vote is the fact that the plan carried in twenty-four out of twenty-six precincts, including outlying wards and labor wards where a special appeal was made to oppose the plan. As to the ten wards, the plan carried in nine, being defeated by only four votes in a strong labor ward where the opponents of the plan expected a larger adverse vote. Of the total registered voters 60.2 per cent participated; 36.6 per cent voted for and 23.6 per cent against the plan. Of the total votes cast, 60.8 per cent were in the affirmative and 39.2 per cent in the negative.

MAX P. HEAVENRICH, *Director*  
City and County Economy Association

---

### ***Huron Abandons Manager Plan Despite Progress***

At a special election held March 21, 1940, the city of Huron, South Dakota, (population 10,946) voted to return to the commission form of government. The vote was 2,471 to 1,621 in favor of the commission plan; and by a 2,360 to 906 tally, the size of the new commission was fixed at five members in preference to three. The election came as the climax to a three-months' investigation of the police department. Extended hearings conducted by members of the commission (as the legislative body in manager cities is called in South Dakota) revealed undoubted shortcomings in that department. As the principals involved had been originally employed under the previous commission form of government, it became the task of the opponents of the manager plan to attribute the discovered mismanagement to the manager. This was apparently done to



the satisfaction of the voters. The commission, by a six-to-three vote, had refused to discharge the manager.

In the five years during which Huron has had a city manager, substantial progress has been made in its government. Statistical data indicate a decrease in governmental costs and a reduction in the municipal debt. Relief had been efficiently handled.

The leading Huron newspaper, *The Evening Huronite*, in a lengthy analytical survey, advised against the change. In pleading editorially for the retention of the manager form it declared (March 19, 1940):

In theory there can be no question but that a city manager type of government is better, for it combines the advantages of the deliberative body of the commission plan with a concentration of executive management, authority, and responsibility in a trained and capable man. Particularly are there advantages to the city manager plan during times when conditions necessitate a close and constant supervision of expenditures and when a city must assume the unusual task of providing a never-ending flow of projects for its unemployed.

Huron's return to commission government leaves Clark and Rapid City as manager cities in South Dakota. The Huron situation has attracted the attention of other cities to their form of government, and in at least one municipality the manager plan is being considered for possible adoption.

WILLIAM O. FARBER

University of South Dakota

### ***Los Angeles Charter Revision Committee***

A committee of forty-five citizens, representing various groups in the city, has been appointed by Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles, California, to study revision and modernization of the city charter, which has been in operation since 1925. Dr. Frank M. Stewart, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California

at Los Angeles, will serve as technical consultant.

### ***Administrative Turnover in Cities***

A report on the tenure of local officials was released on April 13 by the International City Managers' Association. It covered eleven chief administrative offices in all cities of over 10,000 population, from 1935 to 1939 inclusive. The over-all percentage of turnover in the odd-numbered years has declined somewhat. It was lower in the even-numbered years, but increased from 1936 to 1938. The percentages by years were as follows:

1935	19.7
1936	14.1
1937	18.9
1938	15.5
1939	17.3

The largest turnover was indicated in the offices of mayor, health officer, director of public works, chief finance officer, and chief of police, in order. Those with the longest tenure were superintendents of schools, librarians, and city clerks.

### ***New Kentucky Legislation Affecting Cities***

The Kentucky Municipal League successfully sponsored bills in the 1940 General Assembly reducing the cost of publishing annual financial statements in newspapers, requiring a person injured on city property to file notice of intent to sue within ninety days after the accident, enabling cities to combine WPA projects with the assessment plan in sewer construction, permitting cities of the second class the same right of appeal from property assessments as is enjoyed by the property owners, and granting park police the power of arrest held by other peace officers.

Other bills passed which are of special interest to cities include the Ohio River

Valley water sanitation compact, an anti-stream-pollution measure which will ultimately obligate cities located on the Ohio River, its tributaries, or on tributaries of its tributaries, to provide adequate sewage treatment plants; an enabling act permitting cities to finance the construction of revenue-producing recreational projects through the sale of revenue bonds; an amendment to the 1938 alcoholic beverage control act requiring municipal licenses for breweries and distilleries; a bill for a referendum on a constitutional amendment to redistribute the public school fund; a bill providing that in cities of the second class the city manager may be discharged without cause by four of the five city commissioners; legislation enabling cities to send fire apparatus beyond the corporate limits of the municipality; and a measure providing for the creation of sanitary districts in counties containing cities of the first, second, and third classes.

JAMES W. MARTIN

University of Kentucky

### ***Zoning Ordinances Overhauled***

Various cities, according to the American Society of Planning Officials, are acting to correct errors in the zoning of land, resulting from over-optimism and speculative hopes of years ago, when city officials and civic organizations fostered zoning based on the theory that the expansion in city growth then occurring would continue indefinitely. Many cities now find that they have large areas zoned for commercial purposes that cannot be used economically for business, nor can they develop residentially because property owners will not ordinarily construct residences in areas zoned for business.

To remedy such situations cities are now studying their zoning ordinances with the idea of revision, either complete as in Evanston, Illinois, or gradual

as in New York, Los Angeles, and Portland, Oregon.

The city council of Evanston has completely revised its zoning ordinance for the second time since its adoption in 1921. The previous revision was in 1927. The new ordinance reduces by 20 per cent the amount of land zoned for commercial purposes, and by 50 per cent the area zoned for multiple dwellings or apartment houses; single-family homes must be built on larger lots. A new district is also created in which two-family and row houses may be constructed, and apartment buildings, row houses, and theatres are required to provide off-street parking facilities.

Des Moines, Iowa, city planning officials decided to draft a new zoning ordinance after a survey showed, in part, that the city's residence districts as now zoned are large enough for Memphis or Indianapolis; that multiple-dwelling districts are large enough for a city of almost 2,000,000; and that there is enough area zoned for commerce to supply Minneapolis.

### ***Circumventing a Civil Service Law***

Acting under authority of a recent act of the Kentucky legislature, Bowling Green, with several other cities of that state, passed a civil service ordinance last year placing all employees except the mayor and the council in the classified service. A new city council was chosen at the November elections on a hastily organized citizens ticket. The new council was to repeal the civil service ordinance, which in their opinion was designed merely to "blanket in" certain city employees and prevent their removal. Immediately upon assuming office on December 5, the council proceeded to abolish fourteen municipal offices and fix new salary scales for two other city posts. At a later meeting

the duties of these abolished offices were transferred to newly created offices and in many cases combined with other offices, with the net result that fewer city positions now exist than previously. Even the police personnel was reduced as a result of the change.

This action in Bowling Green indicates the apparent ease with which a city council can nullify completely a civil service ordinance which is designed to afford permanent tenure to officeholders. It appears that the initial mistake made by these Kentucky cities was the passage of a law which permitted department heads and other policy-determining officers to be placed in the classified service, and not subject to removal on the part of the city executive.

J. W. MANNING

Bureau of Government Research  
University of Kentucky

---

### ***New York State Adds to Merit System***

Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York has announced that 10,000 attendants in institutions in the mental hygiene, correction, and social welfare departments will be added to the classified civil service, and that all appointments after January 1, 1941, will be from eligible lists under the auspices of the State Civil Service Commission. This is said to be the largest extension of the state civil service system since its establishment in 1894. It is a result of recommendations of the Governor's special committee to study the problem of extending the merit system. The committee consists of Lieutenant Governor Charles Poletti, Grace A. Reavy, president, and Howard G. E. Smith and Howard P. Jones, members, of the Civil Service Commission, and seven persons prominent in citizen activity or specially versed in state problems.

### ***Merit System Defeated in Virginia***

Virginia's merit system bill for state employees has been defeated in the lower house of the General Assembly. The bill incorporated the recommendations of a special merit system study committee of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, according to the *News Letter* of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. The proposed system was to be administered largely by the departments, agencies, and divisions of the state government, with the governor serving as chief personnel officer and conducting certain limited personnel activities in his office. Supporters of the bill will continue to press for action at the next legislative session.

---

### ***Alabama Adopts Biennial Sessions for Legislature***

The only state having regular legislative sessions but once in four years, Alabama has adopted a constitutional amendment specifying biennial sessions, as in forty-three other states. Its legislature will meet in odd-numbered years. The amendment limits each regular session to sixty consecutive calendar days and each special session to thirty. A legislator's compensation is raised to ten dollars per day, from four dollars. The regular sessions will convene on the first Tuesday in May, instead of the second Tuesday in January as at present; the governor thereby having nearly four months to study state needs and formulate a suggested program of legislative action.

---

### ***Kentucky Provides for Retirement of Judges***

Kentucky has long been handicapped, in the opinion of most students of government, by a \$5,000 salary limitation for all state and local officials except the



governor. Narrow interpretation of "public purpose" has restricted pensions. Therefore a 1940 act making provision for retirement of judges of the Court of Appeals (the state's highest court) at the age of sixty-five on full \$5,000 salary after ten years or more on the bench, is legislation definitely out of the ordinary. Provision is also made for retirement because of bad health.

JAMES W. MARTIN

University of Kentucky

### ***WPA Reports Its Accomplishments***

The Work Projects Administration has just finished an inventory of its work during its entire period of operation from July 1935 through 1939. For those four and one-half years it has co-operated with state, county, and municipal governments in a comprehensive program of utilities and sanitation construction the magnitude of which is indicated by the fact that almost 25,000 miles of new storm and sanitary sewers, water mains, aqueducts, and distributing lines have been constructed, and almost 1,400 new sewage treatment, water treatment, and incinerator plants have been built. More than 88,000 public buildings have been constructed, reconstructed, or improved; approximately 56,000 new bridges, ranging from large steel spans to lesser ones of masonry or wood, have been built; more than 457,000 miles of highways, roads, and streets have been established or improved; 197 new airports have been created, and 372 others have been reconstructed or otherwise made better.

Other factors being normal, the key to economical and successful government is the employment and retention in the public service of an administrative personnel of the highest professional qualifications, efficiency, and morale. *Personnel Administration.*

## **County Pay Rolls Studied by Census Bureau**

***Alabama offers purchasing facilities to counties; advisory board for Webster County, Kentucky; county changes studied in Cincinnati, Nashville, and Onondaga County, New York.***

*Edited by*

ELWYN A. MAUCK

The State and Local Government Division of the United States Bureau of the Census has issued its first report on county government employees and pay rolls. Detailed figures are given only for counties with populations over 50,000 and those containing cities with populations over 25,000. Although 898 counties returned the questionnaires sent out by the Bureau, the statistics for the smaller counties will not be published until later. Present plans are that the study will be made quarterly in conjunction with like surveys of city and state governments.

The 898 coöperating counties reported more than 148,000 employees on their pay rolls at the end of January 1940, exclusive of persons on work relief and of employees of contractors, schools, and the few public service enterprises reported. Seventy-two per cent of the employees were reported for 27 per cent of the counties, embracing most of those with populations over 50,000. Similarly, 759 reporting counties carried a January 1940 pay roll of \$13,300,000 of which 82 per cent was reported by 28 per cent of the counties.

Counties containing cities over 50,000 population averaged 834 employees per county, while counties under 25,000 population averaged sixty-one. There was marked variation in the average num-

ber of employees in counties of different geographic regions. Counties in western states reported relatively larger, and in southern states relatively smaller, numbers of employees than did the counties in the north central and north-eastern states. The geographic variations were also notable in numbers of employees of towns and townships. New England towns of less than 5,000 population reported an average of forty-three employees, while towns and townships of all sizes reported averages of twenty and fifteen employees for middle Atlantic and north central states respectively.

---

### ***Alabama Counties Use State Purchasing Facilities***

The feasibility of effecting savings through the use by local units of government of the facilities of the state purchasing office is attested by a recent report of the Division of Purchases and Stores of the Alabama Department of Finance. Established as a result of the state administrative reorganization of 1939, the Division of Purchases and Stores is directed to make its purchasing facilities available to counties and municipalities. If a county or city wishes to obtain the aid of the division, its governing body notifies the division of the proposed purchases, and state prices are submitted. If no prices are available the division obtains sealed bids, and tabulations showing the lowest bid are forwarded to the city or county making the request. Through these means the local unit is able to compare the prices it pays with those paid by the state. To date, thirty-four of the sixty-seven counties and eight municipalities including Birmingham have become regular "clients" of the division.

The state purchasing agent estimates that reductions in costs of from 18 to 22 per cent have been obtained on local

purchases and that a saving of \$100,000 at least could be made on the combined purchases of all cities and counties. A typical example is found in one county which had been paying \$41.48 for truck tires and was able, through the Division of Purchases and Stores, to buy the same tire for \$25.94. The purchases on which material savings have been made include tires, school buses, road building materials, heavy road construction equipment, and cement.

While the assistance rendered is wholly optional to the county, the law requires that each county must file a report at thirty-day intervals with the State Department of Finance indicating its every purchase of \$100 or more made during the preceding thirty-day period. The Division of Purchases and Stores checks the prices reported and whenever any such price is higher than the state price, the local governing body is notified of the difference. This device has been especially useful in calling the attention of county officials to the savings that may be effected by coöperation with the state office.

WELDON COOPER

University of Alabama

---

### ***A Kentucky County Advisory Board***

In an effort to create a means whereby the citizen would have some definite knowledge as well as voice in county affairs, there has been created recently in Webster County, Kentucky, a County Advisory Board which offers the people such information and opportunity. The advisory board consists of one citizen from each of the thirty voting precincts in the county. They are appointed by the county judge, who is the chairman of the governing body and the chief executive officer of the county. They do not meet as a body, but the members from each of the six magisterial districts into which the county is divided

meet with the justice of peace of the district and the County Judge once every two months.

All the citizens of the district are invited to attend the meeting and offer suggestions on county affairs. It had been the practice formerly for citizens with suggestions or grievances to appear before the governing body of the county at its regular sessions. Now the practice of holding meetings of the advisory board in each magisterial district permits the citizen to present his opinion to a less formal body in the presence of his neighbors, and, at the same time, it reduces the congestion in meetings of the governing body of the county. Minutes of these district meetings are read at the monthly meetings of the county governing body, officially known as the Fiscal Court.

The advisory board thus gathers information from the various precincts of the county which is helpful to the judge and the Fiscal Court in enabling them to organize and formulate a well rounded program for the county. In particular, the board has interested itself in matters of roads and road construction, public welfare, and various other county functions.

The County Advisory Board has been a going concern for only a few months, but apparently the people of Webster County are well pleased with the experiment and quite reasonable in their demands. The board has proven a means of bringing county government closer to the people, as well as a means whereby the citizen can be kept informed concerning the operations of the county. Although the board has no legal powers, it is a powerful factor in the determination of county policy.

J. W. MANNING

University of Kentucky

### ***County Reform Studied in Nashville and Cincinnati***

Two more metropolitan areas are

attempting to find a solution to the problems involved in overlapping governmental units. In Cincinnati seven civic organizations are coöperating in sponsoring a questionnaire to ascertain public opinion in regard to the need for and possible extent of county government reform. One purpose of the questionnaire is to forestall possible formidable opposition to plans proposed in the future.

The governing bodies of Davidson County and the city of Nashville are considering a proposal to consolidate the two units of government. The plan is urged primarily as a means of relief for the taxpayer, but opponents already have declared it highly impractical.

### ***Charter Commission Appointed for Onondaga County, New York***

Onondaga County, New York, which embraces the city of Syracuse, is making another attempt to modernize its government through the adoption of a charter. A nine-member bipartisan commission has been appointed by the chairman of the Board of Supervisors to draft such a charter and report to the board by July 15, 1940. This will allow approximately four months of public discussion before the submission of the charter to popular referendum in the November election. The board has appropriated \$2,500 to cover the expenses of the commission.

### **The Women— In Public Affairs**

***Recipes for action from  
Kansas City, Cincinnati, and  
Dayton.***

*Edited by*

**ELWOOD N. THOMPSON**

The women did it in Kansas City.



In the *New York Times* on April 7, George K. Wallace wrote:

"The women of Kansas City who showed the men folks how to clean out Tom Pendergast's heretofore invincible machine in Tuesday's municipal election are gradually returning to their more prosaic duties as housewives.

"Almost a year ago, when a comparatively small clique set the foundation for the movement to challenge the old Pendergast crowd, many smiled at the 'good-intentioned effort,' but said that it would pass.

"But as federal and county grand juries continued to take their toll, first through the imprisonment in Leavenworth of Boss Pendergast himself and then of his chief lieutenants, the clean-up movement began to grow. The exposé of boodling and misconduct in city and county began to hit closer and closer to the homes.

"Then the housewives began to take a hand in the affairs. In a short time the women had organized substantial units of the clean-up forces with which hundreds affiliated themselves. They obtained 100,000 names to petitions to submit to the voters an amendment to the city charter to slice the terms of the city elective régime from four years to two. The people sustained that movement by a vote of five to one on February 13.

"The February election made necessary last Tuesday's contest when the clean-up forces submitted their list of candidates against the machine's selections. For the Tuesday test 2,000 women formed a telephone committee. Almost from the crack of dawn phones jingled in every home where there was a phone, with the callers beseeching housewives and others to go to the polls. Five hundred other women formed a transportation division and hauled voters to the voting booths. In all, almost 7,500 women swung into action as pre-

cinct workers, chauffeurs and other election-day helpers.

"As a result the veteran machine workers were snowed under by a majority of more than 20,000."

### *One Woman Tells Why*

"Why d'you suppose it is that so many women—1700 of them in 1939, women from all walks, ages, and positions in life—voluntarily give their time and services to good government and the City Charter Committee?"

I asked this question the other day of a lovely lady who from time to time graces the charter office with her presence and ready help.

At first she was not inclined to take my question seriously. But later, possibly after she'd had a chance to give it some thought, she told me the following:

"There are a number of reasons. For one thing, I really believe in the City Charter Committee—both its idea of volunteer citizenship and its objective of good non-political city government. You know I have lived practically my whole life in Cincinnati. I have had plenty of opportunity to see the changes the charter movement has brought about.

"But I believe there are other reasons too—and perhaps in the long run they may be quite as important.

"For example, most affairs a woman gets into are simply non-essential. They're not fundamental. You know what they say of the X Club: 'It's an organization started for the purpose of keeping idle women busy.' The charter movement keeps women busy but that's not its real purpose. In addition, so many organizations primarily are concerned simply with their organization. 'Who shall be in charge of this project? How shall we set it up? And what are we going to do with it once it is set up?'

"The things the charter movement is busy with are close to the lives of everyone. They are not the concerns of just this group or that group, they are basic problems involved in so ordering the affairs of men and women living together in a community that all will benefit.

"Work in the City Charter Committee is a great deal more broadening in its contacts than is true of almost any other organization you could name. In most organizations you are either brought in contact with one particular type or you group together with persons from one given neighborhood, or you deal with one specific section of society. But when, as happens in the course of a P. R. campaign or a charter election, you see the city's leading property owner talking with a sturdy unlettered laborer, or our No. 1 socialite hobnobbing with the lady 'from the other side of the railroad tracks'—all for a common purpose—you realize the City Charter Committee provides an experience you simply can't duplicate in most organizations.

#### *Satisfaction in Accomplishment*

"The work of the block worker, the precinct captain, in the charter movement is really hard work. The physical effort in going from door to door and block to block, of climbing stair after stair and hill upon hill, combines with the strenuous mental tug-of-war involved in talking to voters in a way that teaches one what real effort means. *For this very reason* there is a great deal of pleasure in the accomplishment. The mental satisfaction that comes from a job well done and the alertness that comes from increased contact with one's fellows are both agreeable and stimulating.

"And last, but not least, charter work is work in which you can actually see what you have done. When the chips are down and the votes are counted,

alibis are out. Results alone count—but how they count!"

FOREST FRANK, Executive Director  
City Charter Committee of Cincinnati

#### *Many Women Show How*

As the logical development of their study of government problems in various organizations fifty Dayton, Ohio, women responded to a call for definite action in behalf of the city's welfare by serving as the women's division of an emergency citizens' committee to support passage of a municipal deficiency bond issue. That was in 1935.

Out of this emergency activity grew the Women's Civic Group of Dayton and Montgomery County, unaffiliated with any state or national organization, and therefore free to determine its own course as a civic action group—the only one of its kind in the city for many years. Its stated purpose, successfully served for the past four years, is "to encourage responsible citizen participation in local government." Except that its membership is limited to women, its activities have been similar to those of citizens' councils working for better local government in other American cities. Geographical representation, as well as the varied interests of members, are taken into account in the selection of women for the group.

Members of the women's division of the Cincinnati Charter Committee cooperated with talks and consultations at the outset. The Dayton group devoted its first year largely to study meetings, with the conviction that its civic action projects should be grounded in a "clear knowledge of all related facts" concerning any particular government problem listed for solution. City, county, and school finances, civil service administration, county planning, and municipal court practices were studied. These discussions brought the decision that activities of the organiza-

tion should be conducted through committees which would focus attention on a special task by studying it thoroughly and recommending to the entire group the course of action considered necessary for correction or extension of public services.

First on the list of study action committees was the Municipal Courts Committee, appointed in November 1936. In the following January this committee proposed a program of opposition to the local practice of broadcasting actual police court sessions over the radio. Coöperating with the local bar association and other agencies in opposing the court broadcasts, the group saw its efforts rewarded within a year by suspension of the practice. (The judge of this court now welcomes coöperation of our group.)

Education of members in public problems and methods of citizen action continued in 1937 in coöperation with a city-wide program of adult education forums jointly sponsored by the federal government and the Dayton school board. As the year ended, the women protested to the city commission against apparent violations of the Dayton city charter in two important respects, resulting in considerable public discussion until satisfactory explanations of the matter had been made by city officials.

#### *Elect School Board Member*

In November 1937 the Women's Civic Group supported its own slate of four candidates for vacancies on the seven-member city school board, electing one of the four. The campaign included intensive house-to-house canvassing of voters as well as newspaper and radio publicity. The group was credited by trained observers with bringing 15,000 nonpartisan votes to the polls in that election.

Outstanding among the achievements of 1938 was the elimination of the "bull pen," for police court prisoners await-

ing trial, which occupied a part of the court room. Agitation by the women, on the recommendation of their courts committee, was publicly recognized as perhaps the major factor in expediting action by the city commission to remove an admitted bad feature in municipal practice.

The third year opened with a protest against a secret ballot election of city school board officers at the board's January 1 reorganization meeting. The group's contention that the election was unlawful under the state school code was sustained by the school board's legal counsel and another election by *viva voce* vote followed. Other questions given extended study during the year were poor relief financing under a matching arrangement between city and state funds, methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency in the county juvenile court, and the county budget.

The group had a busy program in 1939. It arranged a civic dinner, with the Chamber of Commerce coöperating, celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of commission-manager government in Dayton, with the first director of Dayton's municipal research bureau, Lent D. Upson of Detroit, as the chief speaker, and Colonel Henry M. Waite, first city manager, as an honored guest.

During 1939 the group opposed the action of county commissioners in selling a refunding bond issue without competitive bidding. This opposition resulted in a court investigation and a reprimand to the commissioners, even though the sale was found to be technically lawful.

Late in the year the group suggested that the city commission obtain an outside expert to investigate a new schedule of gas rates, proposed by the local gas and electric utility, which had aroused much public discussion. Early in 1940 the commission requested the State Public Utilities Commission to send an engineer for such a study.



The Women's Civic Group, through the full support of its membership, organized a defeat of the two Bigelow amendments to the Ohio Constitution voted on at the November election, 1939. Proposal No. 1 was for an old-age pension plan which threatened the solvency of the state; Proposal No. 2 would have lowered the number of signatures necessary to place an amendment to the constitution or a law upon the ballot at a general election—threatening Ohio's present form of representative government. Both amendments were defeated in Montgomery County by a three-to-one vote.

The organization has been cognizant of the problem created partially by the old-age pension program which has brought about the establishment of many nursing and rest homes caring for aged persons for nominal sums without official local or state licensing. A bill was introduced in the state senate, through the senator from our district, but it was buried in committee because of the controversial relief problem. The Welfare Department is working on the matter.

Perhaps the group's most important achievement during this year has been in the assistance given to the Montgomery County Public Advisory Committee, a newly formed citizens' movement to promote more efficient and economical government operations in all tax-spending units of the county. In June the PAC conducted a membership and financial campaign, seeking an interested cross-section membership and funds to make a comprehensive analysis of city, county, and school problems and their inter-relationship under rigid state regulation of all local government operations. The Women's Civic Group assumed the difficult responsibility for organizing the campaign in the fourteen townships of the county outside Dayton, aiding greatly in the

final result of 9,000 members, who paid a dollar annual membership fee.

### *Plans for 1940*

In 1940 the major efforts of the group will be concentrated on studying, publicizing, and getting official action on the recommendations of the PAC survey, which are scheduled for publication about May 15, offering the unbiased judgment of a survey board of three acknowledged public administration authorities—Colonel Henry M. Waite, who is now building Chicago's first subway; Dr. George A. Works, dean of the University of Chicago; and Herbert Emmerich, associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House.

As to its methods of operation, the Women's Civic Group has followed, in the main, Theodore Roosevelt's advice to "tread softly but carry a big stick." Much of its success—in fact, more than the general public realizes—has been accomplished through quiet coöperation with public officials. Where that has not produced results, steady pressure without fanfare of publicity has brought other officials to see the need of changes in policy.

The public training of members of the Women's Civic Group is recognized. One member served with the Metropolitan Housing Authority, another was a member of the City of Dayton Planning Board, three are members of the Public Advisory Committee Board. We take these honors as a challenge, realizing that they only increase our responsibility.

Many public officials have welcomed our suggestions, and on many occasions have confidentially asked for our opinions. Others in minor posts have given us information of a confidential nature and, being powerless to act because of their positions, have urged the Women's Civic Group to do so.

It is our policy not to duplicate pro-

grams of other organizations. Whenever possible we join forces, thus eliminating duplication of effort.

Leaders of citizens' movements in other cities helped the Dayton women to develop a civic action group on a sound basis. Now the Women's Civic Group is frequently called upon to perform a similar service for unorganized but aroused women citizens in other communities. After four years, it believes more than ever that the principal difficulties of local government are caused by the apathy or indifference of citizens.

VIOLA D. MANSUR, President  
Women's Civic Group of Dayton  
and Montgomery County

## Iowa Debt Limit Ruling Reversed

***Twenty-four cities on tax collection honor roll; state tax department revamped.***

Edited by  
WADE S. SMITH

Reversing its own decision of thirty-eight years ago, the Iowa Supreme Court on April 2, 1940, ruled that bonds payable from special limited taxes were "indebtedness" within the meaning of the state constitution and must be included in computing the legal debt of the city of Des Moines.

This municipality's combined debt payable both from limited and unlimited taxes is about \$2,000,000 over the 5 per cent debt limit imposed by the state constitution. The new decision therefore raises several questions both as to the status of the city's existing debt and its prospects for future borrowing.

The decision is not generally construed as affecting the validity of Des Moines bonds already issued or its re-

sponsibility to pay them. On this point Gregory Brunk, attorney and taxpayer of Des Moines who brought this action, has the following pertinent comment.

"In our opinion there are two answers to any attack upon the validity of such bonds:

"The Iowa statutes contain a statute of limitations requiring actions attacking bonds to be brought within ninety days after their issue. All of the bonds outstanding are more than ninety days old.

"The United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Gelpke vs. County of Dubuque*, held many years ago that the effect of the withdrawal of an Iowa Supreme Court decision, in reliance upon which bonds had been issued, was limited to bonds issued after the date of the new decision, and held that the previous decision of the court was a part of the bond contract and that the bonds were enforceable against Dubuque County, Iowa."

While the new decision would thus appear to have no adverse effect on the payment of existing debt, it may prove to be adverse to the city's relief and improvement programs. The \$289,000 bonds which the court ruling specifically restrains from issuance in this case, were to finance various capital projects of the city. Blocked in this and unable to issue further bonds for perhaps three or four years (until the city is again below the debt limit as it is now computed), the city faces a minor crisis.

An immediate result is the probable lay-off of some three thousand WPA workers by June 1. By prohibiting further borrowing in the next few years the decision appears to prevent the city of Des Moines from formulating any long-term capital improvement program.

An interesting feature of the whole debt limit situation in Iowa is the legal fiction whereby the State Supreme Court in 1902 was able to exclude

"special tax" bonds from the constitutional debt limit.

Under the statute authorizing limited tax bonds the city is required to authorize tax levies for the various years when principal and interest on the bonds to be issued fall due. After the levy of these taxes the city "assigned" the taxes for the certain specific years, to the holders of the bonds.

"The levy being made in advance for a certain number of years, becomes an asset of the city, and by assigning that asset, out of which the bonds are to be paid, and the bonds containing the provision that they are to be paid solely out of these levies, which have been made, the bonds are not the indebtedness of the city" is the way the 1940 court summarized the ruling of 1902. This doctrine in Iowa is repudiated by the recent decision in *Brunk vs. City of Des Moines*.

ROBERT A. HALL

New York City

### Best Tax Collections Reviewed

At least twenty-four cities of over 50,000 population closed their 1939 fiscal years with 4.7 per cent or less of the current tax levy uncollected, thereby recording a delinquency of less than one-half of the median for the 190 cities studied annually by Dr. Frederick L. Bird.<sup>1</sup> Ten of the twenty-four were located in California, three in New York, three in Connecticut, two in Iowa, two in Alabama, and the other four in four different states. This is the honor roll:

Fresno, Calif.	1.0%
San Jose, Calif.	1.0
San Francisco, Calif.	1.3
Berkeley, Calif.	1.6
Oakland, Calif.	2.1
Mobile, Ala.	2.2

Sacramento, Calif.	2.3
Cedar Rapids, Ia.	2.7
Bridgeport, Conn.	2.9
Buffalo, N. Y.	3.2
Long Beach, Calif.	3.2
Denver, Colo.	3.3
Peoria, Ill.	3.4
San Diego, Calif.	3.5
Davenport, Ia.	3.7
Birmingham, Ala.	3.8
Niagara Falls, N. Y.	3.8
Schenectady, N. Y.	3.9
Hartford, Conn.	4.0
Cincinnati, O.	4.2
Pasadena, Calif.	4.2
Los Angeles, Calif.	4.4
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	4.7
Waterbury, Conn.	4.7

Ten of these cities—Fresno, San Jose, San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, Denver, Peoria, Niagara Falls, Hartford, and Los Angeles—are among the twenty cities with the most stable current tax collection records whose median year-end delinquency was shown in this column last month in a discussion of Dr. Bird's study. Moreover, in six of the twenty-four cities—Berkeley, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Denver, San Francisco, and Schenectady—collections held so stable that total current and delinquent tax collections showed a deviation of less than 5 percentage points during the ten-year period, not falling lower than 97.5 per cent of the levy nor rising above 102.5 per cent of the levy. Such records, while not attainable by many cities because of their susceptibility to severe fluctuations in their economy, are none the less examples of what approximates an ideal collection experience.

Stability of collections, as was repeated here last month, greatly simplifies budget-balancing. Severe current year-end delinquency may, of course, result in abnormally high collections as the back-log of arrears is realized, but this situation is one in which municipal coffers are gutted one year and glutted the next. Dr. Bird contrasts the records of two cities, San Francisco and Atlantic City, to illustrate; the first had

<sup>1</sup>*Trend of Tax Delinquency 1930-39, Cities Over 50,000 Population.* By Frederick L. Bird. New York City, Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1940.



a peak current delinquency of 5.4 per cent in 1933 and the second of 63.6 per cent. Their total collections ran as follows:

	<i>San Francisco</i>	<i>Atlantic City</i>
1935	100.4%	122.4%
1936	100.2	117.3
1937	100.9	112.4
1938	100.5	100.0
1939	100.2	95.6

At the close of its 1939 fiscal year, the accumulated total of uncollected taxes in San Francisco equaled only 4.7 per cent of the year's levy. In Atlantic City the figure was 64.9 per cent.

### ***Six States Reorganize Tax Administration***

Tax departments of Minnesota, Kansas, North Dakota, Iowa, Idaho, and Texas, have recently undergone reorganization resulting in their integration into fewer agencies or a single agency, as reported in a survey by the Federation of Tax Administrators released March 29, covering the preceding twelve months.

A check of eight major taxes for all forty-eight states showed that the 135 agencies administering them were reduced to 131 during the twelve months, although the total number of taxes represented increased from 305 to 308. The taxes called "major" were the general property, income, sales, gasoline, inheritance and estate, motor vehicle registration, tobacco, and liquor levies.

As part of a general financial reorganization, Minnesota reconstructed its tax administering agencies, reducing the number from five to three. Kansas replaced its Department of Inspection and Registration and its Tax Commission with a new office headed by a director of revenue under supervision of the commissioner of revenue and taxation. North Dakota transferred liquor taxes from the "regulatory department"

to the Tax Commission. Iowa created a Tax Commission to take charge of six of the major taxes formerly under two other agencies, in addition to other tax functions which had been scattered among other state agencies. In Idaho the existing tax commissioner took over administration of eight taxes formerly distributed among three agencies. Texas abolished the office of state tax commissioner, allocating his duties to other agencies.

Changes with some coördinating effect were reported also for Alabama, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Ohio. Rhode Island's state reorganization act revised the tax-administering agencies, which were already integrated under one head.

Wisconsin was the only state to go counter to consolidation. Early in 1939 administration of the gasoline and liquor taxes in this state was transferred from the Tax Commission to the Treasury Department, which was also given charge of the tobacco tax enacted later. The Department of Taxation, which replaced the Tax Commission, was left in charge of general property, income and inheritance, chain store, and utility taxes.

Eight states administer their major taxes through one agency, according to the survey. They are Georgia, Kentucky, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Utah. At the other end of the list, one state has six agencies and one has five. The most common number of tax agencies in a state is three, fourteen having this number, while eleven states have four agencies.

### ***Kentucky Legislature Smooths Tax Collection procedure***

Several measures designed to smooth out the administration of various taxes were enacted by the 1940 Kentucky legislature. Some of these altered fundamental provisions of the statutes, but they did not impose new taxes or alter

general rate structures.

For the most significant of these administrative changes had to do with handling the five-mill property tax in application to accounts and notes receivable and with machinery for property tax collection. A new statute (H.B. 167) provides that local assessments of notes and accounts receivable may be reopened by the Department of Revenue within three years from the date as of which the original valuation was made unless the county assessor fixed the face value as the assessed value or unless the appraisal be judicially reviewed and finally fixed by court judgment.

The bill also provides a penalty for the county assessor who accepts a list that fails to show face value of intangible property. Kentucky has for a long while been reasonably successful in assessing many classes of intangibles, but notes and accounts receivable have never been satisfactorily reached. Passage of this measure represents an effort to close one administrative gap which has been a source of state and taxpayer dissatisfaction wherever general intangible property has been subject to low-rate taxes. The effectiveness of the solution, it may be surmised, will depend largely on the extent to which the department is given financial support for making the actual investigation.

The second of the significant administrative measures revised the whole machinery for county and state property tax collection and included some important provisions respecting municipal collection administration. Although minor changes have been made at many points, there has been a studied effort to avoid such an upset in local machinery as would confuse county officials. No integration among county officials was undertaken.

The major alteration in policy will result in selling a tax lien after real estate tax delinquency occurs instead of

selling the land itself. It is anticipated there will be no great change as a consequence except that the new method will elide several serious administrative muddles resulting from the former practice. For illustration, the transfer of a title to the land (subject to redemption in three years) has meant, in case of a failure to secure private bids, that the property became public property and hence constitutionally not liable for taxation. Thus, the assessor has had to eliminate a large number of parcels from the tax list and on redemption to replace them. The result has been a multiplication of errors as well as irritation and expense for the assessor's office. The new procedure will not affect assessments in such cases, since if the sale has been made to the state it is merely transfer of a lien not of the land itself, and so the real estate continues subject to assessment in the regular course.

JAMES W. MARTIN

University of Kentucky

### ***Purposes of Municipal Bonds Changed Since 1929***

The purposes for which municipal bonds are issued have changed greatly since 1929, according to a study made by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada.

The issuance of local revenue and refunding bonds has increased sharply since 1929, while road and school bonds have been issued by the cities in lessening amounts, according to a report by a Chicago bond house.

Revenue bonds in 1929 amounted to only .73 per cent of the total bonds issued by the municipalities for the year, and refunding bonds amounted to 1.3 per cent. On the other hand, road bonds totaled 16 per cent and school bonds 15.6 per cent of the total issued.

The picture changed during the next

ten years, however, and in 1939 municipal revenue bonds totaled 12.6 per cent of all local bond issues, while refunding bonds comprised 22.5 per cent of the total. Meanwhile, road bonds dropped during the ten-year period to 6.3 per cent, and school bonds to 6.8 per cent of all bonds issued.

The report said that municipal relief bonds, of which there were no issues in 1929, totaled \$66,118,000 last year.

The increased use of revenue bonds has been due to tax limitations, debt limits, and the desire to participate in federal projects, according to the report. Road bond issues were smaller in 1939 because of pay-as-you-go financing through gasoline taxes and federal relief expenditures. The association said that from April, 1935, to Jan. 1, 1940, more than \$3,000,000,000 was spent from federal emergency relief appropriations for highways, roads, streets, etc.

The refunding was due largely to favorable rates for refunding bonds, before maturity, the report said. While loans for school construction have declined, the amount of construction may be nearly normal due to federal aid through PWA and WPA.

The relief bonds and about \$50,000,000 of funding bonds reflect that part of the cities' relief costs not paid from current revenues.

---

## Anti-P.R. Bill Vetoed in New York

*A West Virginia charter  
proposal; election contrasts  
in Canada.*

---

*Edited by*  
**GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.**

---

Governor Herbert H. Lehman has vetoed a bill, passed on the last day of this year's New York legislative ses-

sion, which would have prevented Schenectady from voting on the adoption of P.R. again for four years and blocked plans for the submission of a P.R.—manager plan charter amendment this fall in White Plains. It may be doubted whether most of the legislators who voted for the bill had any inkling of its purpose, for it did not mention either of these cities or P.R. and it was introduced by a New York City Democrat, Assemblyman Delaney.

The bill provided that: "Notwithstanding any inconsistent provision of this chapter,<sup>1</sup> in case a proposed local law changing the mode or system of election of the members of the legislative body of a city, after submission to the electors of the city as provided in this chapter,<sup>1</sup> has failed or shall hereafter fail of adoption, no proposed local law changing the mode or system of election of the members of such legislative body in the same manner, either in terms or in effect, shall again be submitted to the electors of such city as provided in this chapter until after the expiration of two years following such rejection; and in case such a proposed local law changing such mode or system in the same manner, either in terms or in effect, after submission to the electors of the city as provided in this chapter, at two elections within a period of four years, has failed or shall hereafter fail of adoption upon both such occasions, no proposed local law changing such mode or system in such manner shall again be submitted to the electors of such city as provided in this chapter until after the expiration of four years following such last rejection."

Although in the future this bill might have affected any city in the state and any method of election, its immediate effect was confined to the three cities which last year defeated attempts to

---

<sup>1</sup>The city home rule law.



introduce P.R. by petition and popular vote—Schenectady, White Plains, and New Rochelle.

Schenectady would have been hit hardest, for P.R. amendments were narrowly defeated there both in 1938 and in 1939. The bill would thus have prevented any third submission before 1943. The Schenectady Citizens' Council for Proportional Representation Voting does not plan to raise the question again this year anyway, but does hope to do so in the near future.

Any doubt as to the real backing of the bill was dispelled by the extraordinary pressure used by Speaker Oswald D. Heck of the Assembly, a resident of Schenectady, in getting the bill out of committee in the Senate. The Republican organization has a complete monopoly of the seats on the Schenectady city council and has fought both attempts of citizens to secure minority representation through P.R. with great vigor. One of its delegates introduced the ill-starred proposal to ban P.R. throughout the state in the Constitutional Convention two years ago, though the proposal was not officially endorsed by the organization. This permanent protection against the necessity of sharing representation with other citizens having been denied by a popular vote of two and a half to one and by an adverse majority in every county in the state, the Schenectady organization evidently turned to a less obvious means of securing the same protection for a period of years.

### **Clarksburg May Vote on P.R.**

An official charter board in Clarksburg, West Virginia, impressed with the experience of Wheeling, has prepared a tentative draft of a new charter based on the city manager plan and proportional representation. Clarksburg is the fifth city of West Virginia and has a population of some 30,000.

The charter board wants to use P.R.

not only for the city council but for a special water board. There is, however, no authority for such a board in the West Virginia home rule act. The charter board is therefore postponing the submission of its charter until after the 1941 session of the legislature, hoping to secure the necessary authorization for an independently elected water board by amendment of the act.

---

### **Canadian Election Shows Need of P. R.**

Unofficial newspaper totals, not entirely complete, make it clear that the results of the Canadian Dominion elections of March 26 distorted the popular verdict badly and deprived the country of the services of able minority leaders at a time when their coöperation was badly needed.

A proportional representation of the electorate would have given the Liberal party a good working majority, for that party polled roughly 53 per cent of the total—a 6 per cent margin over all other parties combined. It did not need the plurality method's exaggeration of its strength which gave it the largest majority of members on record—177 out of 245, or 72 per cent.

The landslide carried to defeat the leader of the "National Government" opposition, R. J. Manion, National Conservative; C. H. Cahan, former Conservative secretary of state; H. A. Stewart, former Conservative minister of public works, and a number of other outstanding men. A proper representation of the minorities would have kept their experience and counsel in the new Parliament.

This was deplored even by some of those who supported the Liberal ticket. "If party men always want to crush all and every one of their opponents," wrote Eugene L'Heureux in an editorial bulletin of *L'Action Sociale Catholique de Quebec* on March 27, "citizens

placing the country's welfare far above party interests think differently. Whatever its political colour, the defeat of a good candidate is to us a cause of regret. . . . With the development of communications proportional representation is easily applicable and we will have to turn to it if we want the people's will 'pro and con' to be fairly represented, and prevent the defeat of good candidates."

Examination of the unofficial returns in the individual provinces brings out a number of striking anomalies:

In Manitoba less than half the votes gave the Liberals 14 members out of 17.

In Nova Scotia the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation elected one member with some 18,000 votes, while the National Government ticket with over 111,000 elected none.

In Saskatchewan the Liberals elected a majority of the members on a 43 per cent vote and the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, with almost the same vote as the National Government ticket, elected two and a half times as many members (5 to 2).

In British Columbia a 37 per cent vote gave the Liberals a 62 per cent majority and the National Government ticket, with barely more votes than the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, elected 4 members to the latter's 1.

In Alberta the New Democracy party, hitherto known as Social Credit, polled fewer votes than the Liberals but elected half again as many members (9 to 6).

In other words, the single-member district system of election is little better than a gamble. It cannot be trusted to return a truly representative legislative body.

The province of Alberta recently held another election, for its own legislative assembly, in which proportional representation was used in the two largest constituencies, Calgary and Edmonton. We hope in the near future to be able to give an account of this election to

contrast with the distorted results for the Dominion.

## EMPLOYMENT STABILIZATION

(Continued from Page 320)

suggested change, and to reduce the administrative cost of such a changed law, the statute might specify that the present method of assessment continue except in those cases where manufacturers specifically apply for an assessment to be made on the basis of average annual raw materials and finished goods on hand.

The law further might specify that this new method of assessment be made optional with the assessed only in such cases where the employer specifically certifies that the purpose of the request for the new method of assessment is to provide more steady employment. While this latter provision would be somewhat difficult to enforce because it involves questions of motive, it might have the beneficial effect of drawing attention to the desirability of stabilization.

It might be necessary to have the state tax commission or some other body review all of these applications for assessment on the new basis and then, where local assessment still prevails, have the local assessor proceed according to the new statute.

The requirement that personal property be assessed as of a given day is an interesting example of a "cultural lag." The farmers were originally responsible for the selection of the spring date. Their seed was in the ground by May 1, and the previous year's produce had been sold or consumed, so this date gave them a minimum tax to pay.

Those who have a vested interest in assessment as of a given date need not be disturbed under the proposal above because it is suggested that the new basis be made available only to those who apply for an assessment on the basis of the average annual inventory.

# Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

**American Local Government.** By Roger H. Wells. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939. xii, 200 pp. \$1.50.

This volume is notable for three things: comprehensiveness, condensation, and an emphasis novel to texts on local government. It deals with the government of both urban and rural communities. The degree of its condensation is indicated by the fact that it contains only two hundred pages. The novelty of its emphasis lies in its complete subordination of the structure and operation of local government to the interrelations of local governments with one another and with the state and national governments. Only eleven pages are assigned to city government as such, and three to the governmental machinery of counties, while more than half the book is given over to interrelations.

Professor Wells's chief contribution has been in calling attention to the numerous and compelling contacts which now exist between the national and local governments. The time has not yet come for any definitive writing on this subject. We have been passing through a transitional period of rapid expansion of federal activity affecting local government. How many of these new contacts will survive the present emergency no one can say. Professor Wells has done all that any one can do now. Without concealing his belief in the importance of local self-government, he has presented a summary of the objective evidence of the current federal-local *rap-prochement*.

The most important point on which issue may be taken with Professor Wells is an overemphasis on the dark side of American local government. The complexity of areas, for example, is in many cases harder on students who are obliged to master such details than it is on citizens

and taxpayers. The multiplication of small villages and special districts in the outlying parts of metropolitan areas represents a rational attempt to confine support of urban services to those who enjoy them. The only practical alternative is the non-autonomous taxing district which is open to the objection that those who pay the piper do not call the tune. Among local governments none are subjected to a more effective popular control or are operated more economically than are the general run of small suburban villages and special districts. Complexity of areas is an evil against which this reviewer has frequently inveighed, but it is scarcely so unmitigated an evil as might be gathered from Professor Wells's book.

Something of the same sort may be said of his picture of the declining importance of local government. It is true that the higher levels of government have encroached upon the lower. But at the same time the activities of government upon all its levels have been vastly increased. Both urban and rural units, barring those which may have suffered from the movements of industry and population, have much more to do than formerly. A thorough and accurate appraisal would probably show the field of local autonomy to be larger than it has ever been. It is worthy of special note that the new federal-local contacts stressed by Professor Wells are mostly voluntary and contractual, not governmental in the strict sense of that term. The initiative on a WPA project or a PWA loan must come from the local government. If local governments cannot resist the temptations of easy money, it is their own affair.

Professor Wells has done a workmanlike job which shows a more than ordinary mastery of the materials of local government study. The book is well documented



and it should be gratifying to membership and staff of the National Municipal League that the *REVIEW* and other publications of the League are frequently cited in the text and its bibliographical notes.

The faults of this book are those incident to extreme economy of treatment. It is impossible to give more than a perfunctory account of city government organization in eleven pages. Even the stressed subjects suffer from compression. State-local relations, for example, cannot be fully discussed in twenty-nine pages. The responsibility for space limitation, however, does not fall on the author. We are informed in the foreword that he was controlled in this respect by the formula of the series. Teachers of local government who want a skeleton text upon which to hang the results of supplementary reading will find this one to have all the necessary pegs.

THOMAS H. REED

New York City

---

**Financing Government.** By Harold M. Groves. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1939. xvi, 777 pp. \$5.00.

A public librarian once explained a service he would install if his skimpy budget permitted, which of course it did not. At present most such librarians have an "information service," that is, they try to find the answers to questions put to them. But the scheme proposed was to go beyond that. Each day the local newspapers were to be read by a staff member. Any statement by any local person therein recorded was to result in a letter calling attention to the resources of the library on the subject discussed.

The number of speeches, editorials, and letters to the editor, concerning the matters upon which this book throws light, is so great it would doubtless be the book most often recommended in such a service. It contains more working information than any other book known to this reviewer on the all-pervading problem of democratic government—how to get money and

how to spend it. It gives arguments for and against every important tax and other money source, and of every great objective of public expenditure. Every viewpoint concerning the equity, ease of administration, and other aspects of each method are clearly and impartially set forth. Fortunately, Dr. Groves does not stop there. He has his own judgments and states them, as a rule, clearly and completely.

This is especially true of his opinion about the publicizing of income tax returns, as found on page 175, and on the land-value tax as applied to urban areas, on page 407. Dr. Groves includes in the discussion of each tax its non-fiscal effects. One such, which should flow from a land-value tax, is not mentioned in the book. It came to this reviewer's attention only a few weeks ago. Someone who sat in a discussion group on taxation at the recent Regional Conference of the National Municipal League held in Minneapolis said that "Land-value taxation might prevent 'the hag-mouth look' that downtown areas of all our large cities are getting. If the tax was on the site and not on the building," said this observer, "owners might continue to demolish obsolete buildings, but they would erect new ones immediately to get more income than a parking lot brings in—the empty lot would, under the land-value tax, pay as much tax as one with a building. The size of the service budget of a city is, practically speaking, the same after a building is torn down as before, so that, under the present practice, as lots are denuded of buildings and used only for parking spaces, owners of the remaining buildings pay more taxes to replace what the owner of the bare lot now escapes."

It is a pity that Dr. Groves did not put in one place his objections to the sales tax. He deals with this tax in the chapter on Consumption Taxes. But his strongest statement against this regressive tax is not in that chapter, nor is it listed in the index. It is on page 29, as follows: "The sales tax can be justified on none

of the principles which have ever been put forward to justify the distribution of the burden of a tax." If that sentence had been put on page 347, there is greater chance it would meet the eye of a hurried legislator with time to read only the specific chapter on Consumption Taxes.

Part Four deals with public expenditures, though for most people the book's title will suggest the raising of money rather than its spending. This section is extremely competent, however, although occasionally it calls attention to problems it cannot fully discuss.

There is one chapter which it would be worth while to print separately, that on Shifting and Incidence, for if widely read it would cut down the time of legislative hearings on tax matters 60 per cent and almost annihilate desultory discussion.

Altogether the book is a monumental work on an extremely important subject. It is alive with a dynamic scholarship which should flower into sound, wide-visioned legislation in the next few years, for that legislation will have this trenchant remark as its touchstone: "In modern times it is necessary to inquire not only *who* should be taxed, but *how* and *where*."

WALTER J. MILLARD

**County Manager Government in Effect in The County of Monroe, State of New York.** Compiled and edited by Arthur H. Crapsey under the direction of Clarence A. Smith, County Manager. Rochester, N. Y., Monroe County Manager Administration, 1939. 77 pp.

In a way this title is a misnomer. While the pamphlet does perform the valuable service of explaining clearly just what the county manager plan is in Monroe County and what are the duties of the county offices, there is a delightful bonus for the reader in the form of the history of "the land that became the county of Monroe." Going back to 1775, there is recounted all the romance that went into the making of one of the oldest political units in the

country. Without laboring the point, it is made clear (by implication) why counties need the manager plan.

"Not printed at public expense" advises the title page. This is exactly the sort of thing that *should* be printed at public expense.

M. R.

**The Growth of the American Republic.** (2 vols.) By Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. New York City, Oxford University Press, 1939. xvi, 723 pp. (Third printing). \$3.25 each volume.

By applying good writing to scholarly research, Morison and Commager succeed in presenting to the reader a picture of American history that is as delightful to read as it is instructive. In two substantial volumes, well supplied with maps, all aspects of American life and thought are discussed. Literature, folklore, music, and art are given their proper place in the saga of American development. A well conceived history such as this does much to illuminate the roots of our local governmental units and to make the absurdities of county governmental structure, for instance, considerably more understandable. It is to be regretted, however, that the authors have made an inexcusable slip in the inadequate discussion of forms of city government. Only one paragraph is devoted to that subject, and it contains two errors. At the end of 1930, it is said, there were 160 American cities with the commission form of government; eighty with the council-manager form. As a matter of fact, in the decade between 1921-1930, there were ninety-five *new adoptions* of the manager plan alone, not counting those cities which had the manager plan previous to that period.

RITA ROHER

**Public Housing in America.** Compiled by M. B. Schnapper. New York City, H. W. Wilson Company, 1939. (*The*

*Reference Shelf*, Volume 3, Number 5.)  
369 pp. \$1.25.

Public housers and experts in municipal administration will find this volume of *The Reference Shelf*, intended for debaters, a useful addition to their libraries on housing. It consists of bibliographies, references to general and special works in the field, and articles by recognized writers. The reader will find here discussions of social, economic, and political aspects of housing as viewed by Catherine Bauer, Stuart Chase, Thomas S. Holden, Edith Elmer Wood, Charles Abrams, James Ford, and Coleman Woodbury.

Listed as affirmative writers in the general discussion, are Lewis Mumford, Sir Raymond Unwin, Charles P. Taft, Robert F. Wagner, Nathan Straus, and various housing officials, while the negative is upheld by the ubiquitous Charles E. Coughlin, the rebellious Senator Millard R. Tydings, and a number of other writers who, with one exception, are persons whose names have not been associated with the subject of public housing, but rather with expressions of dissident views on scores of subjects. The exception is Edwin H. Spengler, professor of economics at Brooklyn College and author of a study on the influence of transit facilities on real estate values. Since Professor Spengler's article deals with the shortcomings of tax-exemption devices, which are by no means necessary to the achievement of public housing, one is inclined to distrust the validity of the process of presenting arguments pro and con on a public question. However, this is an academic point and students of the subject are certainly qualified to use the materials presented with discretion and discrimination.

R. V. P.

**City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory.** By John Alley. Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. 117 pp. \$1.50.

Our interest in governmental forms at present is centered upon reorganization. Fifty years ago in Oklahoma Territory towns were organized for the first time on land taken by force or the threat of force from the Indians. The story of this invasion of the Indian lands has been told many times, and Professor Alley has resisted the temptation to add color by its use here. Nevertheless, his narration of the struggles, conniving, and chicanery of the early settlers and town-builders does not lack for color or interest.

In particular the book is a severe indictment of our national legislature for its casual and belated interest in assuring the new territory a satisfactory or at least a workable system of government.

Those of us who find present-day city problems perplexing should by all means look to these early attempts at self-government for clues to ways out of the difficulties.

J. KIRK EADS

Indiana University

## Additional Books and Reports Received

### *Elections*

**The Selection of Election Officials in Wisconsin Cities and Villages.** Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1940. 7 pp. mimeo.

### *Housing and Real Estate*

**Government in Housing. An Examination of Uncle Sam's Housing Ventures.** By Department of Government Management, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver. Denver, Colorado, 1940. 23 pp. Ten cents.

**Introduction to Housing. Facts and Principles.** By Edith Elmer Wood. Washington, D. C., United States Housing Authority. xi, 161 pp. Thirty cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

**Seventy Years of Real Estate Sub-**



**dividing in the Region of Chicago.**

By Helen Corbin Monchow. Evanston and Chicago, Northwestern University, 1939. viii, 200 pp. \$2.25.

**The Homes the Public Builds.** By Edith Elmer Wood and Elizabeth Ogg. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1940. 32 pp. Ten cents.

---

**Interstate Cooperation**

**The Delaware River Basin. Physical Facts.** A graphic compendium containing maps and charts. Philadelphia, The Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, 1940.

**The Delaware River Basin. Planned Progress in Pollution Control.** Philadelphia, The Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, 1940. 20 pp.

---

**Libraries**

**A Metropolitan Library in Action.** A survey of the Chicago Public Library. By Carleton Bruns Joeckel and Leon Carnovsky. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940. xvii, 466 pp. \$3.00.

---

**Municipal Government**

**Annual Report of City Manager, Beliot, Wisconsin, 1939.** 38 pp. mimeo.

**Annual Report of the City of Lynchburg, Virginia. Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 1939.** 48 pp. illus.

**Index to Municipal Legislation.** A cumulative, alphabetical, subject index of municipal ordinances, proposed or adopted by city councils, boards of aldermen, city commissions and similar bodies, as recorded in their printed official proceedings and journals. Compiled, arranged, and edited by Frederick Rex. Chicago, Municipal Reference Library, 1937. 250 pp. mimeo. \$2.50.

**Restrictions upon the Interest of Municipal and Other Public Officials in Governmental Contracts.** By Ambrose Fuller. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1940. 41 pp. mimeo. \$1.00.

**Pensions**

**A Study of the Pension and Retirement Systems of New York City.** By Robert L. Merritt. New York City, Department of Investigation, 1940. 83 pp. mimeo.

**Planning and Zoning**

**American Planning and Civic Annual.** A record of recent civic advance as shown in the proceedings of the National Conference on Planning, held at Boston, Massachusetts, May 15-17, 1939; The National Conference on State Parks, held at Itasca State Park, Minnesota, June 4-7, 1939; and the Third National Park Conference of the American Planning and Civic Association with the National Park Officials held at Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 8-10, 1939. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1939. vi, 288 pp. \$3.00.

**Zoning.** The Laws, Administration, and Court Decisions During the First Twenty Years. (Second printing with added material.) By Edward M. Bassett. New York City, Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. 275 pp. \$3.00.

---

**Public Policy**

**Public Policy.** A Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University. Edited by Carl J. Friedrich and Edward S. Mason. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1940. xiii, 391 pp. \$3.50.

---

**State Government**

**Outline of the Structural Organization of the State and Local Government of Connecticut.** A Work Book, prepared by WPA Project 2132, Division of Women's and Professional Projects; supervised by the Institute of Women's Professional Relations. New London, Connecticut College, 1939. xiv, 431 pp. mimeo.

**Reorganization of Executive Agencies in Virginia.** Report of Committee

on Taxation and Government. Richmond, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, 1940. 24 pp.

**West Virginia—The Mountain State.** By Charles Henry Ambler. New York City, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. xviii, 660 pp. \$5.35.

### **Taxation and Finance**

**Summary of State Tax Yields: 1939.** New York City, Tax Policy League, 1940. 5 pp. mimeo. Twenty-five cents.

**The Property Tax and Its Consequences in Buffalo and Erie County.** A Report by the Committee on Taxation of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce. Buffalo, Chamber of Commerce, 1940. 45 pp.

**Trends in Highway Finance.** By Robert S. Ford and Marvin A. Bacon. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1940. 20 pp. illus. Ten cents.

**Trend of Tax Delinquency 1930-1939.** Cities of over 50,000 population. By Frederick L. Bird. New York City, Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1940. 36 pp. \$2.00 (\$1.00 for additional copies).

(Discussions of this publication will be found on page 272 of the REVIEW for last month and on page 340 of this issue.)

## **KALAMAZOO EXAMINES THE RECORD**

(Continued from Page 304)

its commercial enterprises. These enterprises are operated on a "separate unit" basis: for example, the city pays the water department for water consumed and for fire hydrant rentals; the water department, on the other hand, pays to the city both taxes and rent for the space occupied by the department in the city office building. The budgets, funds, and reserves, as well as the accounts of these departments, are operated separately for each unit.

Kalamazoo citizens can "point with pride" to twenty-two years of efficient administration. Manager government has produced the business-like conduct of the city's affairs anticipated by those responsible for the drafting of the manager charter.

## **CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW**

(Continued from Page 327)

**STATE** legislatures are the avocation of **Charles W. Shull** (*Wangling Reapportionment for Michigan*) who reports that he has made a study "on the side", of *American Experience with Unicameralism*, published by the Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research, and is engaged now on a larger study of reapportionment and unicameralism in Michigan for the same agency. Also, on the side, he is on the public affairs committee of the local Kiwanis Club and has written some twenty-five book reviews and articles in four magazines on governmental affairs. Dr. Shull's main job is an assistant professorship of political science at Wayne University.

**CREATION** of a department of citizenship and public affairs, the first of its kind in any American college, was one of the signal achievements of **Dr. P. P. Womer** (*Education for Democracy—Ideals and Values*) at Washburn College where he was president for sixteen years. At present Dr. Womer is occupied with the Citizenship Committee of the National Municipal League which he heads. He recently spent several weeks in Dallas, Texas, organizing the Regional Conference on Government which the League held there. Dr. Womer is the author of four books and numerous articles on citizenship and government.



